

The background features a large, light gray circle. Inside this circle, there are two white triangles. One triangle is positioned in the upper left, pointing downwards, and the other is in the lower right, pointing upwards. They overlap each other and the gray circle. The text is placed within these white areas.

the peak

Anarchism
issue

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The opinions and views expressed
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sarily reflect the views or opinions
of the peak collective.

The countless hours it took to
produce this magazine were
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to everyone who contributed.



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Inside Cover
May Day 2011 Montreal by Askalon

Inside Back Cover

Words:

"The Triumph Of Our Tired Eyes" by Thee Silver Mt. Zion Memorial Orchestra & Tra-La-La Band

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Introducing...

ANARCHISM: CONTESTED TERRITORIES

PUT SIMPLY, ANARCHISM IS A DESIRE TO LIVE WITHOUT a state and to end capitalist relations. It is a lived revolutionary practice that seeks to transform the social fabric. Yet, within this there exists a landscape of ideas, innumerable thoughts on what anarchism means, how to enact it, and divergent critiques of society. This is why anarchism is comprised of contested territories.

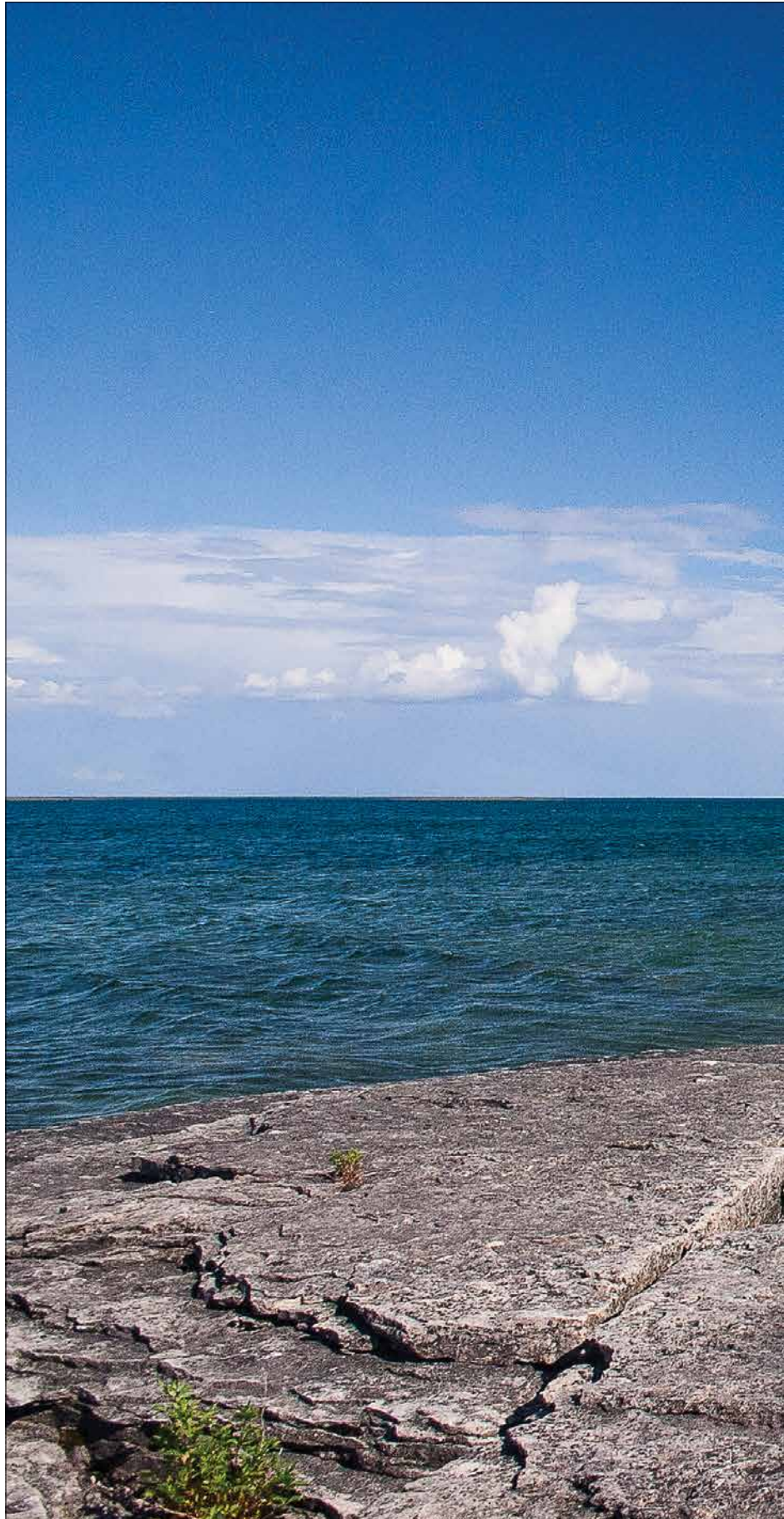
We were inspired to create this issue because we want to try and explain the constellation of ideas that drive the collective of this magazine. Anarchism is the foundation that clarifies the what, why and how we struggle. By rooting the magazine within this, it provides context to our readers about many of the actions, articles and essays we publish.

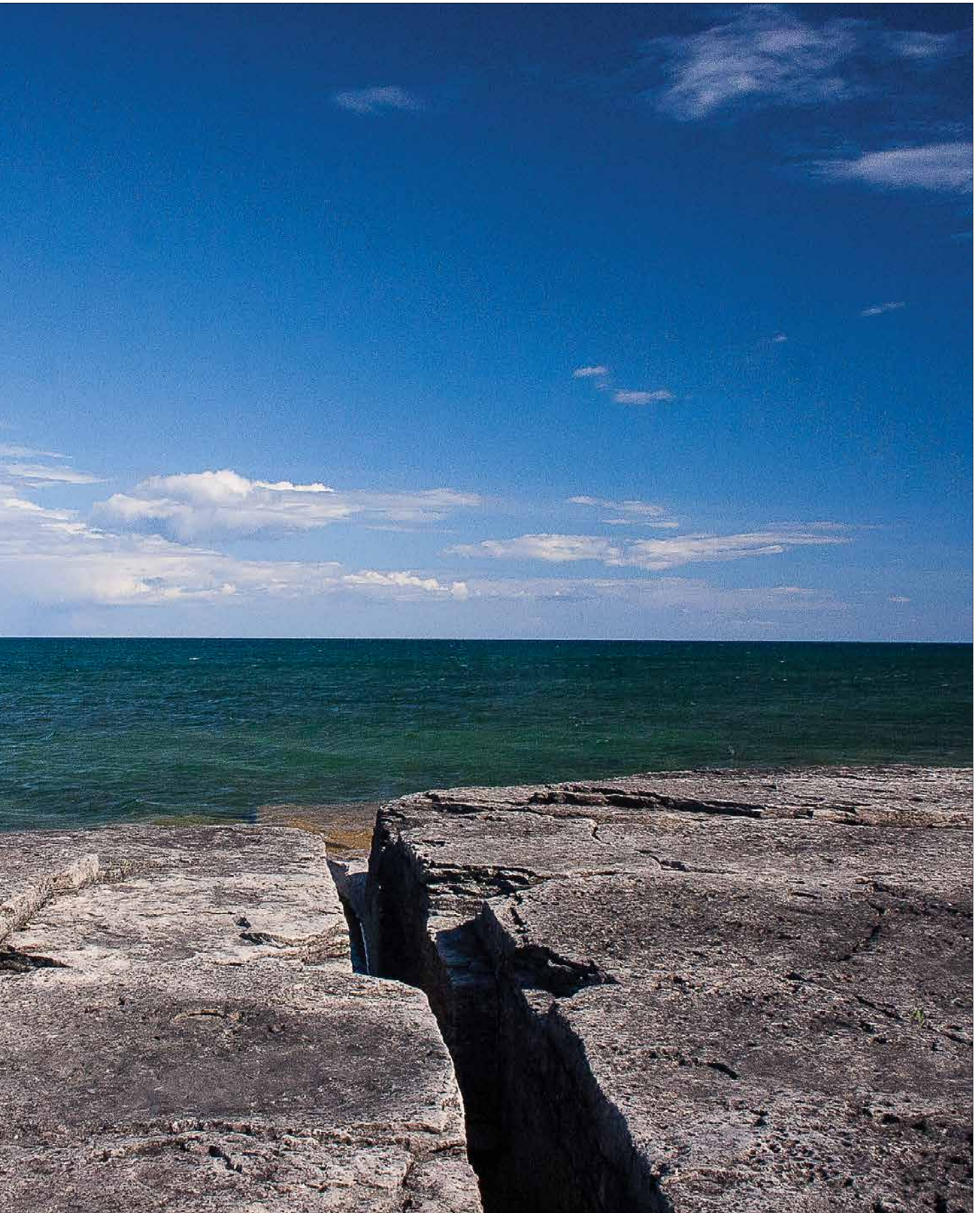
Mainstream media fetishizes radical politics and anarchism is often portrayed with a single issue narrative that streamlines the focus on violence, disruptive behavior and black bloc tactics. While there is a place for direct confrontation and this is supported by anarchists; that is not all we are about.

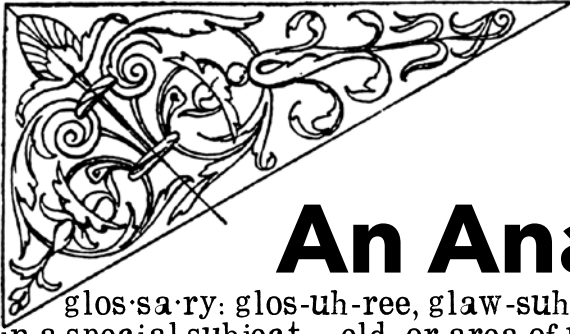
In this issue, Tammy Kovich explains the barebone principles that drive anarchist thought and set it apart from other political philosophies. Alex Balch offers a critic of the broad “Left’s” views on the nature and the role of the state. Tarek, Awasis and Marcy Goldstein explore the different ways anarchism influences our many different cultures and spiritual beliefs, and vice versa. Rachel, Adam and Kalin author a piece on the roots of capitalism in colonialism, and propose ways we can engage in struggle alongside indigenous self-determination.

Anarchists don’t wait for the revolution sometime in the future; we work to actively create revolutionary space in the present social terrain. It is not after the revolution we will counter oppressions; that practice is lived daily. Struggle and analysis are intertwined with our interactions. Anarchy, creates a world we want to live in today.

Sincerely,
The Peak Collective







An Anarchist Glossary

glos·sa·ry: glos-uh-ree, glaw-suh-ree noun, plural glos·sa·ries. 1. a list of terms in a special subject, field, or area of usage, with accompanying definitions. 2. such a list at the back of a book, explaining or defining difficult or unusual words and expressions used in the text. Origin: 1350–1400; Middle English glossarye < Latin glossarium difficult word requiring explanation < Greek glossarion, diminutive of glossa tongue, language; later taken as a collection of such words, by construing suffix as Latin -arium -ary; cf. gloss2

By The Peak Collective

IN THE LANDSCAPE OF IDEAS, LANGUAGE IS ONE of the most contested territories. This is especially true in anarchism, where the words we use and the ideas they represent are always evolving and subject to debate. Here's a very incomplete guide to some of the words you'll encounter in this issue.

affinity: A term used to describe relationships based on trust, shared ideals, goals and tactics. Affinity groups are a way of organizing, commonly used by anarchists to accomplish a project.

anarchy: The absence of rulers and masters. People do not follow orders, but make their own decisions, come to voluntary agreements with their communities and collaboratively develop strategies for putting these decisions into practice.

anarchism: A view that is rooted in the proposition that people have the capacity to, and should act from a place of freedom from domination and coercion to shape their own lives and communities. Anarchism is opposed to all forms of oppression, domination, exploitation and hierarchy. It is anti-state, anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian.

autonomy: Freedom to make decisions and see them through without interference from external forces. This applies to personal freedoms and desires, as well as self-governance at the individual and community level.

capitalism: An economic system of exploitation in which the majority (the working class) must sell their labor for a wage in order to survive, while an elite minority (capitalists) live off and profit from the labor of others. The foundation is rooted in private property (individual ownership of land, resources, means of production etc) and the colonialism and white supremacy that enable the exploitation of land and labour.

colonialism: The historical and ongoing process by which Indigenous peoples (First Nations, original peoples) are systematically divested of their land and agency in order to ensure state control of resources. Colonialism suppresses indigenous culture, including language and models of justice, healing, and self-governance.

community: A network of relationships based on shared identities, experiences, or interests. Capitalism structures our relationships around work and money, and impeding our ability to find or participate meaningfully in community, making it an ideal to be strived for.

communization: The idea of actualizing communism in the present – not in some far off future, nor after any sort of transitional period, but immediately. Revolution is understood as a communizing movement that abolishes all capitalist categories, including monetary exchange rooted in private property, the commodity form, the state, wage labour and the working class itself. A process of 'making common'

resources (including goods, land, spaces, skills, knowledge etc.) in a non-state public sphere, thereby undoing capitalist relations and creating new subjectivities.

direct action: Forms of action without intermediaries whereby individuals and/or groups use their own power to change reality in a desired direction. People intervene directly in a situation, rather than appealing to an external authority (ie. the state, corporation, law, police, politicians, bureaucrats, etc.).

empire: A blanket of homogenized culture, economic systems, ideas, food and lifestyle that extends across the globe through the imposition of global capitalism, beginning with European powers and colonizing forces yet presently most recognized by the influence of the United States.

intersectionality: A theory premised on the acknowledgement that different systems of oppression structure our society and the experiences of people within it. These unique systems of oppression (for example white supremacy, patriarchy, colonialism, and classism) intersect, reproduce and support each other, influencing who has access to power, resources and opportunities, and those who do not.

informal organization: A means of organizing based on self-organization. It is a horizontal linkage of people who come together on the basis of affinity, and who have the potential to coordinate specific actions in the context of social struggle.

Informal organization implies that individuals come together for a common purpose, goal, or to carry out specific action(s) not to build a permanent, static organization.

mutual aid: Mutual exchanges of goods and/or services made in a system of voluntary cooperation. Mutual aid is a part of the communities that anarchists strive to create. Mutual Aid is a part of what makes for good community by strengthening bonds between individuals and groups. not to be confused with charity.

nihilism: A philosophy negating all meaning. (from latin nihil = nothing). Political nihilism refers to the rejection of all authority, including church, state, and social authority.

prison abolition: A social movement and practice based on the idea that prisons are intrinsically linked with capitalism, white supremacy, and other systems of isolation,

control, exploitation and power, and should be rendered obsolete.

representation: The concept that each person is capable and able to act in their own interest and represent themselves. This is opposed to ideas of party-politics or democracy in its current form whereby individuals elect someone else to act in their interest and represent them.

transformative justice: A community-based approach to justice, rather than a police/prison-based model. Transformative justice encompasses not only acts committed, but situations and political environments that play a role. The conditions that allow violence to occur must be transformed in order to achieve justice in individual instances. It is a means to hold people accountable in a way that is proactive, supportive and conducive to meaningful change; instead of punitive, shaming and isolating.

solidarity: Fundamentally, the idea that struggles are interconnected, acts of solidarity are a way of showing support and shared resistance. It comes in many forms- including attack; but is based on the premise that, "I see your struggle in my own and I respond".

the state: A ruling authority, government, leviathan; a manifestation of control. The state represents a consolidation of power, and seeks to rule, govern, and repress the free expression of people and any threat to its unbridled influence. The state requires protection from the police, the military, and the criminal justice system, who maintain this hierarchy of power.

voluntary association: The idea that people and/ or communities should be able to freely associate and disassociate with each other as they see fit.

The Peak Collective's Recommended Reading list

PEGGY

- *Medicine Stories: History, Culture, and the Politics of Integrity*, Aurora Levins Morales. South End Press, 1998
- *Everywhere All the Time: A New Deschooling Reader*, edited by Matt Hern. AK Press, 2008
- *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism*, Todd May. Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994
- *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings of Radical Women of Colour* (Kitchen Table Press, 1984)

BYRON.

- *T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*, Hakim Bey. Autonomedia, 2003
- *Days of War, Nights of Love*, Crimethinc. (CrimethInk, 2001)
- *Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs*, The Curious George Brigade. (Strangers in a Tangled Wilderness, 2003)
- *The Dispossessed*, Ursula K. LeGuin (1974)
- *Tao Te Ching*, Lao Tzu

E.WAR

- *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*, Peter Markel (Thing, Year)
- *Evasion*, Crimethinc. (CrimethInk, 2001)
- *Recipes For Disaster*, Crimethinc. (CrimethInk, 2004)

BRYAN

- *Caliban and the Witch*, Sylvia Federici. (Autonomedia, 2004)
- *The Coming Insurrection*, The Invisible Committee (Semiotext(e), 2007)
- *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee*, D. Brown (1970)
- *Letters of Insurgents* by Yarostan Vocheck and Sophie Nachalo (Black and Red, 1976)
- *People of the Pines: The Warriors and the Legacy of Oka* (McArthur & Co. 1999)
- *Memories of Freedom*, The Western Wildlife Unit of the Animal Liberation Front (Pamphlet 2006)
- *The Strait: Obenabi's Songs* by Fredy Perlman (Black and Red 1988)

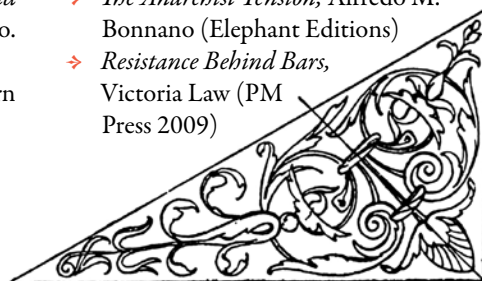
- *Baeden: A Journal of Queer Nihilism* (2012)
- *The Unseen*, Nanni Balestrini. (Verso, 1989)

ALI

- *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English (Feminist Press, 1973)
- *The Housing Monster* (prole.info, 2012)
- *Work, Community, Politics, War* (prole.info, 2005)

AMBER

- *Can't Stop Won't Stop*, Jeff Chang (Picador 2005)
- *Take Your Mark, Get Ready, Ablate: 3 Positions Against Prisons*, August O'Clairre
- *The Anarchist Tension*, Alfredo M. Bonnano (Elephant Editions)
- *Resistance Behind Bars*, Victoria Law (PM Press 2009)



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Anarchism: A Basic Primer

By Tammy Kovich

"Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations."

- Emma Goldman

INTRODUCTION

OFTEN MISCHARACTERIZED, FREQUENTLY DEMONIZED and otherwise obscured, anarchism exists as an incredibly misunderstood political ideology and social practice. Within the popular imagination the enduring image of the anarchist is that of a black clad terrorist. Sure, confrontation and violence have a place within anarchism, but this is a small and arguably misleading part of the picture! A revolutionary project of sweeping transformation, anarchism, in addition to its all-encompassing social critique and promotion of militant resistance, is also defined by ideals of radical equality, enduring solidarity, and meaningful freedom – a liberatory vision of individual autonomy and community self-management.

Given the prevalence of misperceptions surrounding anarchism, this article will offer a basic overview of some of the key ideas, concepts, and principles that define anarchism, and act to inform the practices of anarchists. This article is not intended to be exhaustive – it will not dive into the complexities of different schools or tendencies of anarchism, nor will it touch on any theoretical points of contention. It is simply intended to offer a bare bones introduction to anarchism, and provide a springboard for further exploration.

THE BASICS

Anarchism, as a body of thought, and even more importantly, as a lived point of reference for action, is incredibly diverse. With a principled inclination towards open-endedness, anarchy is a project without a predetermined blueprint: a practice, movement, or rupture with neither a foreseeable

end, nor clearly demarcated boundaries. Anarchist visions and preferred tactics vary, and there are different traditions, currents of thought, and strategic orientations. That said, there are basic tenets and non-negotiable principles that define anarchism across the contentious terrain on which it operates.

A REJECTION OF THE STATE

The most well known tenet of anarchism, and the idea that most often subjects anarchists to criticisms of being utopian, is its rejection of the state as a legitimate ruling body. This categorical rejection of government is one of the main features that distinguish anarchists from others who seek social change: we reject participation in electoral politics and have no desire to seize state power. The motivation for this stance is largely grounded in a twofold critique, related to an understanding of the state as both a condition or social relationship, and a material institution.

First and foremost, government in whatever form it takes, liberal democratic or otherwise, is regarded as innately repressive and alienating. People have little input in the decisions made, and even less say in shaping its organizational structure. Devoid of the substantive participation of those who fall under its jurisdiction, the state is a tool of elite rule that administers social control, and divides the minority who rule from the vast majority who are ruled. As a social condition, the state acts to impede and often destroy individual autonomy through the micromanaging of people's lives. For example, consider the policing of gender, the criminalization of sexualities and sex work, or anti-drug

legislation which all seek to control our interactions with our own bodies.

Moving on to the second component of the anarchist critique of the state, we arrive at the issue of violence. War is indeed the health of the state, and this includes war waged against those who fall within its own borders. The state, as an institution, implements a coercive regime of power. State rule is based on force and the ever-present threat of violence. It exists as the sole entity within our society that claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. Central to its functioning are forces such as the police and military, and mechanisms such as the prison system that maintain government order.

It is within this context that anarchists are staunchly opposed to the police and are proponents of prison abolition. Police and prisons are concrete manifestations of state domination. Contrary to their 'serve and protect' rhetoric, the police maintain ruling class dominance, protect the private property of the rich, and entrench state control over the resolution of social conflict.

ANTI-CAPITALISM

In addition to an anti-state perspective, a commitment to anti-capitalism is pivotal to anarchism. Our current economic system is seen as an impediment to meaningful freedom and community wellbeing. Capitalism commodifies every aspect of our lives, is systematically destroying our environment, and condemns the vast majority of the world's population to destitution. In a similar vein to the state, capitalism acts to benefit a small elite at the expense of everyone else. It stratifies society along the line of class – an exploited majority (the working class) must sell their labour for a wage in order to survive, while a minority (the capitalist or ruling class) live off and profit from the exploitation of others.

Wealth does not 'trickle down' – workers create goods and provide services, generating profits of which they receive very little. Wealth and resources are concentrated in, and continuously funneled back into the hands of capitalist elites. Individual freedom (you're hardly free if you must spend every waking hour selling your labour) is stripped away as people are essentially left with the choice between wage slavery or starvation. Work consumes our time, destroys our bodies and mental health, and forces us to submit to our bosses in order to pay the landlord.

The foundation of this brutal system is private property – the individual ownership of land, resources and the means of production. The logic of private property and, in turn, capitalism, dictates that everything can be owned and commodified regardless of use. Within this framework,

a single person can own hundreds of houses and leave the houses empty if they so desire, while countless people remain homeless. Mass amounts of food can be owned and considered the property of a single corporation, while people starve. Anarchists consider this theft, and reject the institution of private property, proposing instead collective or communal ownership, and the generous sharing of goods and resources based on need and potential use.

OPPOSITION TO HIERARCHY & DOMINATION

Anarchism's opposition to oppressive structures does not begin and end with the state and capitalism. The anarchist project is infinitely more ambitious – it seeks to eradicate all systems of oppression and exploitation, and is committed to the task of attacking all forms of domination. Here domination is understood in reference to many intersecting forms, relationships and structures, in which a person's social location in terms of gender, race, sexuality, ability, status, class, etc. inform hierarchies that correspond to systemic oppressions. Within this context, anarchists strive to dismantle any and all social relations and corresponding institutions that allow people to exercise mastery over, exclude, or control people.

The idea is that we must act against hierarchy itself, and cannot rely on any form of oppression to just wither away if we address a 'main' oppression. For example, the abolition of capitalism would not necessarily entail the destruction of patriarchy or white supremacy. The notion of a primary oppression is thus rejected, and the complexity and the uniqueness of different systems of oppression is acknowledged. Working to address domination as it manifests in our daily lives and experiences, emphasis is placed on making the connections between both personal realities and larger structures and institutions.

The personal is indeed political, and anarchists are committed to addressing oppressive dynamics within our own spaces and relationships. However, anarchism is a revolutionary undertaking, meaning that anarchists we fight for the fundamental transformation of society as a whole, and realize that oppression cannot be reformed away. As such, anarchists engage in a wide range of struggles at a variety of levels, including those against queer and trans* phobia, colonialism, imperialism, white supremacy, ableism, and patriarchy to name only a handful. The all-encompassing social critique of anarchism means that there is no one point of entry to engaging in struggle, and no shortage of opportunities.

DIRECT ACTION

Forget petitions and fuck parliamentary process. Don't waste your time asking politely or begging for scraps from the master's table. Another key tenet of anarchism is a rejection of the politics of demand, and an embrace of direct action. Eschewing strategies of social change that involve appeals to external bodies or the abdication of power to an agency, anarchists instead propose direct action — that is, forms of action that cut out the middle person to directly address an issue without petitioning to an external authority (be it government, corporation or group). Unlike symbolic forms of action, direct action seeks to not only bring attention to an issue, but also to directly remedy it.

Direct action tactics vary, and examples include everything from squatting to a general strike, to blockades and sabotage, to a community kitchen. It can take on destructive/preventative forms or constructive/constitutive forms. From social centres to free skools, the constructive or constitutive use of direct action concerns addressing a pressing issue in the here and the now. For example, if poverty and access to fresh food is an issue in your community, you might start a communal garden in the neighbourhood. That garden would address an immediate need, as well as contribute to building grassroots power.

Direct action can also include more confrontational acts. Destructive or preventive direct action tactics can best be understood as actions aimed at halting an injustice. For example, a person opposed to the clear-cutting of an old-growth forest might intervene in the situation by destroying the logging company's equipment. Or a group concerned with the gentrification of their city may engage in vandalism and targeted property destruction in attempt to hinder rising real estate prices.

It is important here to note that this distinction between forms of action is not mutually exclusive. Different approaches make sense in different contexts, and all are necessary. A crucial component of anarchism is the acknowledgment that we need it all — we need destruction as well as creation. We need people to tear down that which oppresses and alienates us, just as we need people to be building counter-institutions and inspiring alternatives.

MUTUAL AID & VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

Contrary to claims stating otherwise, anarchism is not solely a project of negation and critique. Constructive principles, including mutual aid and voluntary association, are fundamental to anarchism. As foundational principles upon which to

build a future anarchist society, they guide anarchist organizing efforts and help construct supportive communities in the present.

Based on the idea that human evolution and social interaction is best served through cooperation and not competition, mutual aid can best be understood as social solidarity. It encompasses the ideal to give and take freely, from each according to their ability, and each according to their need. Intimately connected to the notion that 'no one is free unless everyone is free', mutual aid is rooted in the idea that individual freedom and well-being are necessarily connected to collective freedom and well-being. Acts of mutual aid are considered mutually beneficial to all involved, and are an ever-present possibility.

Studies observing natural disasters and human behaviour constantly find that in the context of such a crisis, solidarity and cooperation between people is the norm. More often than not, it is everyday people and not the government who perform rescues, share vital resources and take care of each other through disasters. Beyond these spontaneous manifestations, intentional projects of mutual aid also exist — neighbourhood childcare cooperatives, community health clinics, prisoner support networks, and free stores are just a handful of examples.

As a complement to mutual aid, anarchists are also proponents of voluntary association. Highlighting the importance of autonomy, voluntary association consists of a commitment to consensual relationships and organizations. As its name implies, it entails the formation of groups or associations that are created by the free choice of those involved. The idea is that people and communities should be able to freely associate, and by extension disassociate with each other as they see fit in the process of building non-coercive social bonds.

PREFIGURATION & HORIZONTALISM

Connected to an emphasis on voluntary association, anarchism is lastly defined by a commitment to prefigurative politics. Rooted in the assertion that the means and ends of struggle cannot be separated, prefiguration entails a commitment to forms of action and organization that prefigure, or anticipate, the type of society anarchists hope to build. For example, if we desire a future free of hierarchical social relations, it follows then that we will organize non-hierarchically in the present. If we desire a stateless future, it then follows that we must work to organize outside of, and build alternatives to, the state in the here and now.

Prefiguration thus concerns utilizing tactics, strategies and organizational forms that are consistent with and promote anarchist values — forms


that build counter-power to state institutions, and encourage self-organization, are structured horizontally and foster autonomy. In practice, this entails constructing groups, projects, and organizations so that power is shared among participants. Rejecting static positions of official authority or fixed power (i.e. no presidents, no managers, no bosses etc.), the goal is to create infrastructure and ways of interacting with each other that embolden relations of power-to and power-with, rather than power-over.

In terms of models of organization, neighbourhood councils, non-hierarchical community organizations and affinity groups are examples at the local level. At a regional or even national level, examples include federations, spokescouncils, and decentralized networks. The ongoing emphasis is on creating social models that are reflective of and further our values.

CONCLUSION

The basic tenets of anarchism as presented in this article are intended points of departure for further exploration. The beauty of anarchism necessarily includes the tensions and areas of debate that contribute to its vibrant diversity. Fissures exist in anarchist praxis – strategic, tactical, and theoretical differences underscore contemporary anarchism.

Some of the areas of the debate include (but definitely aren't limited to): the role of class struggle and movement building in anarchist organizing; the appropriate response to ecological crisis; the usefulness of anti-oppression theory and its compatibility with revolutionary organizing; the use of formal vs. informal models of organization; the role of anarchists in national liberation, as well as indigenous sovereignty struggles; and the value of strategies that emphasize attack and individual acts of revolt vs. those of community organizing and the building of alternatives.

This is a mere snapshot of the complexities that anarchists are currently grappling with. Anarchist ideas only matter to the extent that they are relevant to people, contributing to and ideally intensifying struggle. This means that anarchist ideas are always being debated and reworked to take account of changing contexts, needs and desires. In any case, these tensions, experiments and debates, in addition to the general principles, are valuable points to consider for those interested in engaging with anarchy. 

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Every Day is Social War:

On the Lines that Divide Us and the Struggles that Bring Us Together

By Anonymous

Every day is social war, the rich drink blood while we eat sawdust,
and you defend your bullies it's fucking depressing
You kept your master's lies alive, while I was stealing to survive
You're on a treadmill climber higher, while I'm setting mine on fire
-Blackbird Raum, *Shot Coplifting*

EVERY DAY, WE NAVIGATE COUNTLESS SYSTEMS OF domination. We work for our bosses, we endure (or perpetrate) sexual harassment, we are welcomed in, or regarded with hostility on the basis of our skin colour. We navigate constructed urban environments that only accommodate some bodies and ways of being and demand access to money and resources to move through them. We wake up beside our lovers. Every day, we step back into our social role, a role based on gender, sex, race, class, ability, and more.

Systems of domination can be named with words like patriarchy¹ or white supremacy.² These systems of domination intersect and overlap to make up what we call society, granting privileges to some while oppressing others. Their continued existence involves elements both of coercion³ and participation.⁴ There is not a faceless “them” lurking at the top of the pyramid responsible for all this oppression; there is just each other. Although there are definitely people with a lot more power than others, we all contribute to systems of domination and to oppression.

And yet, even though an appreciation of this complexity is common in anarchist or radical circles,

it's still common to hear people frame their struggles in terms of “class war.” “No war but the class war...”. But, why should we see our identities and oppression under class society and capitalism as somehow more important or urgent, than the other kinds of oppression we experience? Class struggle anarchists, and “workerists” more generally, can offer all kinds of explanations about how capitalism is the root of domination, but these stories fail to convince, especially when delivered by another interrupting white guy trying to tell us about unity.

The reality of these systems of domination is much more complex than that. The front lines of these struggles are everywhere, even lying between each of us as individuals and revealing the lie of a homogenous “society.” I want to take this reality seriously and engage this whole web of conflicts and power – the whole terrain of society is a battleground. I want to talk about social war.

Social war is rooted in a “revolutionary” understanding of privilege theory/anti-oppression politics, rather than the usual liberal mode. A liberal understanding of anti-oppression tells us that social change occurs by changing our individual behaviours and removing barriers for people within

- 1 privileging men over women and trans* people
- 2 privileging white skin and white culture over all others
- 3 forcing us to respect their rules
- 4 voluntarily going along with domination, often in exchange for privileges

the existing system. This assumes that oppression is due to ignorance, not a desire to hold on to power, and it ignores the real, physical force that is used to maintain systems of domination. A revolutionary understanding of oppression holds that there are no individual solutions to collective problems, and a system that is maintained by force is only changed by counter-force.

Our identities and social locations tell us where we stand in relation to power. We do not all encounter power structures at the same time, in the same places, or to the same extent. Women and trans* people do not always get to choose when they enter into conflict with patriarchy; people of colour don't always get to choose when they need to confront white supremacy; Indigenous people don't always have control over when they run up against settler-colonial violence.

By knowing where we stand, we can see how we are complicit in oppressive power structures, and we can find affinities through shared experiences of oppression. By identifying our complicity, we can step back from our role in systems of domination and choose to enter into conflict with them; by finding affinities, we gain the strength to fight more effectively. Although men are less likely to be affected by the violence of patriarchy, they can organize and choose to confront it. Although white people don't experience the oppression of white supremacy, they can choose to break ranks try to unlearn and even attack the systems that benefit them over others.

So although the systems of domination seek to create fissures between those who experience privilege and those who experience oppression under those privileges, entering into struggle against those systems allows us to begin to bridge those divides. Although white people will never understand white supremacy in the same way as people of colour, the shared desire to confront it and the world which it creates is a powerful basis to building complicit struggles against domination.

The social war, then, is about divisions and alliance – there are conflicts everywhere, but there are also opportunities for affinity, collaboration, and friendship. To engage with social war, we must learn to despise false unities based on concealing differences. This means that social war is not just an analysis of society; it also has a strategic dimension. We should be wary of modes of organizing that seek to flatten out people's identities, or make some identities secondary to others – this is common in attempts to organize the so-called “working class”. This flattening often comes from a strategy of mass membership organizing, where groups try to bring in the largest number of people. Within such a strategy, it makes sense to smooth over differences and

make claims like “by attacking capitalism, we are also attacking the roots of racism and patriarchy!”


The barely hidden fissures of social conflict will always sabotage such a strategy. The past is littered with examples of movements who cast whole groups of people aside in order to achieve their limited goals. For example, the worker's movement left women behind, while the women's movement ignored the struggles of women of colour, and the mainstream LGBT movement left out trans* people.

We are not all coming from the same place. Our struggles are not all the same. We may have common enemies, but we might also be contributing to and benefiting from the oppression of those we show our solidarity for and work with. A class-struggle analysis falls short because it just tries to tack other oppressions onto its pre-existing framework as secondary forms of oppression.

The word “society” implies a vast false unity and a massive flattening of identities. Society is a lie that serves to conceal the existence of power. We should not be struggling to change society but to destroy it. Social war involves being at war with society.

We need to reveal the contradictions of society, and the fault-lines of power and violence that run through it. Whatever our access point to struggle, whether we see ourselves as first in conflict with capitalism, ableism, or the gender binary, sooner or later, every effective struggle will run up against the police and the violence of the state. Our ability to reveal the contradictions of society is in our ability to situate ourselves against the institutions and systems of power that hold them all together. Only then can we set about building our own real bridges across those divides as individuals and communities, relying on the strength of our relationships rather than the false unity of a movement or the of society.

Finally, social war is about relationships. It is about finding affinity with the people around us and cultivating friendships. It involves honesty, conflict, growth, collaboration, hard work, vulnerability, emotional openness, fierce strength, conviction, and courage. It lets us picture a model of revolt based on countless small insurrections whose goals are community autonomy, rather than some big “revolution” where all of “society” seeks to rise up, contradictions and power structures intact.

As we navigate these systems of domination in our daily lives, let's challenge ourselves to identify power, challenge our own complicity, seek out affinities, and find opportunities for subversion and revolt. We don't need to fear the fissures of privilege and oppression if we are willing to challenge our privilege. These fissures are weaknesses in society itself, and ripe with opportunities for attack. 

Journey Into Anarchist Hip Hop


by Tarek

MY NAME IS TAREK, I AM A SETTLER, AN IMMIGRANT, and what is known to some as an EMCEE¹. I'm also an anarchist, which to me means that I subscribe to a brilliant set of ideas which I rarely discuss with others. Unfortunately, anarchism comes with lots of stigma and barriers, which make effective dialogue and discourse almost impossible. The average person has lots of unlearning to do before they can engage with ideas they have been taught are radical, dangerous, and juvenile. The constant mainstream cultural output on anarchism paints a very incomplete, silly picture of what anarchism is. Western society has not seriously entertained anarchist ideals, yet. Getting it to do that is my musical mission. It was during my high school years in Toronto that I was introduced to Hip Hop and Anarchism – almost simultaneously. Now I make Hip Hop music as a part of a massive funky crew known as *Mother Tareka & The Greezy Steez*. It is one voice in a collective artistic effort to familiarize the world with these radical ideas in an intelligent approachable format. I discuss ideas that are often difficult to access; painting a world of organic post-collapse anarchist possibilities. I believe the majority of people currently lack the will and imagination to fully process these possibilities. Ideas of self-governance and autonomy were very appealing to me, so was the idea of speaking musical truth poems for all to hear.

You see I grew up in Damascus, Syria in the 90s, and even as a sheltered kid I was able to see and somewhat understand state repression and how the Assad regime operates. Even my extremely left-ist family told us to be careful of what we say, since being critical, dissident, or slightly suspect meant you and your family could vanish overnight. This was an environment governed by fear, silence and paranoia; no freedom, no speech. The word freedom was often heard, but rarely understood, never felt. For decades the Assad gang traumatized Syrians into complacency, and dissent was brought to a halt. At least that's what I thought. I left the country in 1998. Since then the country radically shifted towards breaking the fear barrier, and the presence of satellite television and internet reportedly made it possible for people to produce and receive non-state based media. The digital world offered the forums for political dialogue and a place for the idea that it is time to challenge the legitimacy of the Ba'ath regime to spread. Much like

in the West, the government in Syria worked hard to crush these outlets. These forums were outlets for dissident voices that contributed to revolutionary conversations through song, photography, art, dance, theatre. They are created as a part of a new cultural landscape to guide rebellious imagination and actions – one full of wonder and hope.

While the majority of people in the West believe their countries to be exemplars of free speech, their governments prosecute and imprison activists, and attempt to destroy their communities. Under the grip of a capitalist imperialism that subjugates many for the luxuries of a few, we only have each other for support. As I reflect on the global struggle and the powerful unapologetic radical actions of the oppressed, I'm left feeling that the upheaval they all create is building unprecedented digitally interconnected revolutionary momentum. The collective dissident 'We', has always expressed an intense need to unite, and undo (and heal from) centuries worth of oppression and trauma. They have done so through manifestos, through direct action, through community organizing and self-care, through song, dance, art and riots! Those are all relics and living proofs of the culture of resistance inherited by the new generation. These voices are now reaching new shores, echoing one another, and a brand new culture of resistance unfolds and spreads potential.

Simply put, knowing that others are on the same anarchist page makes the possibility of serious and dramatic change feel that much more real, hopefully mobilizing peeps into action. This is particularly relevant for Anarchism as it battles misrepresentation, and ignites the potential for the oppressed to utilize their numbers and seize their power through civil disobedience, so they may regain control of and reshape their lives. We will continue to infiltrate the airwaves and detoxify our culture sonically in hopes that it will enable revolt against the state, and enrich the shifting global consciousness. For those who are interested in positive political Hip Hop check out Ursula Rucker, SA-ROC, Invincible, Rebel Diaz, Intikana, Bambu, I Am Many, Guante, P.O.S., Brother Ali, The Coup, Amir Sulaiman, Shadia Mansour, The Narcicyst, Omar Offendum, D.A.M., D'bi Young, Monkey Wrench, Missing Linx, Shing Shing Regime, Freedom Writers, Babylon Warchild, Lee Reed, and Test Their Logik. 

¹ This term defends Hip Hop culture and honours its roots, whereas the word "Rapper" more often than not brings to mind the music industry's money-hungry misogynists with microphones.

[illegible]

[illegible]

With Friends Like These:

Anarchism and the Left

An historical analysis of the Leftist political milieu and its philosophical and practical conflicts with anarchism by Alex Balch

FOR ACTIVISTS INTERESTED IN RADICAL POLITICS, all the specific political categories and sectarian infighting found within ‘The Left’ can be confusing and frustrating. With so much in the world that urgently needs fixing, why is it that those most invested in revolutionary theory spend so much time arguing with other activists over minor differences in strategy? Why do followers of certain political ideologies refuse to work with members of other groups? Wouldn’t things be a lot simpler if we just put aside our political differences, and got down to the business of revolution?

Finding an answer to these types of questions can be difficult. Working with people you don’t always agree with is a vital part of building a movement – but how you go about doing this depends a good deal on what you want the movement to look like. The rather unsatisfying truth is that ‘The Left’ has always been a mixed bag. It is an umbrella term used to describe a wide range of political ideologies, each with its own competing vision of society and distinct ideas on how to get there. In the absence of collective struggle, activists are more likely to dwell on these differences, rather than work on ways of reconciling them. And sometimes the differences just aren’t reconcilable.

‘The Left’ first emerged as a political concept during the French Revolution, where it quite literally referred to an ad hoc seating arrangement. During a meeting of the National Assembly in 1789, supporters of the monarchy sat on the right of the

Unlike other revolutionary philosophies of ‘The Left’, anarchism does not derive from a single great thinker or leader

speaker, while supporters of the revolution sat on the left. As one monarchist deputy put it, “those who were loyal to religion and the king took up positions to the right of the chair so as to avoid the shouts, oaths, and indecencies that enjoyed free rein in the opposing camp.”

The concept has evolved since then, but the general idea has remained the same. Those on ‘The Left’ are in favour of changes towards economic and social equality, whereas those on ‘The Right’ are in favour of tradition, order and security. Today’s Left can be essentially divided into two camps: those who favour a strategy of reformism (liberals, progressives, greens, social democrats, etc.) and those who favour a strategy of revolution (Marxist/Leninists, Trotskyists, Maoists, communists, anarchists, etc.). To complicate things further, some anarchists today have discarded the label of “left” in favour of a new category of “post-left”. This is a largely semantic argument based on a critique of classical anarchism and its historical relationship to other leftist groups. For the purpose of this article and for simplicity’s sake, this point will be set aside. More important than where anarchists choose to identify themselves (or not) on the left/right spectrum, a more fundamental distinction between anarchism and other leftist ideologies stems from their opposing views of the nature and role of the state.

Unlike other revolutionary philosophies of ‘The Left’, anarchism does not derive from a single great thinker, or leader. In fact, the term anarchism derives from the Greek *ἀναρχία* (anarchia) meaning “without leaders” or “without rulers”. That

said, anarchism is not without its share of important theorists. Many consider Pierre-Joseph Proudhon to be the “father of anarchism,” by virtue of the fact that he was the first person to use the label to describe himself. A French philosopher and politician, Proudhon is perhaps best remembered for his quote “property is theft” (taken from his 1840 work *What is Property? Or, an Inquiry into the Principle of Right and Government*). Although he probably wouldn’t be considered an anarchist if he were alive today, his views on the role of private property under capitalism were extremely influential in the spread of early socialist thought, and have found modern expression in the spread of worker cooperatives and financial credit unions. His writings also made a significant impression on a young Karl Marx.

CAPITALISM EXPLAINED

Considered one of the most influential philosophers in modern history, the work of Karl Marx provided the economic foundation upon which subsequent socialist theories were built. Marx devoted the majority of his attention to a meticulous study of the inner workings of capitalism. He saw the capitalist world as divided into two economic classes – the bourgeoisie, or capitalist class, and the proletariat, or working class – and the class struggle between these two mutually opposing groups as the primary engine of human history. According to Marx, the key to understanding capitalist relations was found in the rise of the commodity as a unit of trade, and the manner in which the production of commodities was organized.

Marx understood the historic shift from feudalism to capitalism as being made possible by the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution, which produced widespread changes in the means of production (the tools and equipment used to produce commodities) and mode of production (the way in which the production of commodities is organized within a given society). For much of human history, commodities played a relatively minor role in people’s lives. In the feudalistic societies that pre-dated capitalism, the vast majority of the population were peasants—poor subsistence farmers who worked the lands in common and traded what little surplus food they

had within a decentralized local economy. Those engaged in commodity production (weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths etc.) were skilled artisans who worked in small groups organized into guilds at the service of the church and nobility. Merchants regularly travelled long distances to buy and sell luxury goods, as they were dependent on the output of local producers.

The Industrial Revolution led to incredible advances in productivity, as commodity production became centralized into large factories owned by wealthy

referred to as industrialization). Poor, destitute and robbed of their traditional communal ways of living, these displaced peasants were left with the only option of selling their labour-power to capitalists as a commodity, who in turn paid them a wage in exchange for exclusive rights over the products of said labour. By paying the workers significantly less than the full value of the commodities they produced, factory owners were able to take this profit (termed surplus value by Marx), and reinvest it into the further accumulation of capital.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

At the time Marx was writing, capitalism had already spread across Europe and parts of the Americas. It had not yet emerged as the global phenomenon that it is today, and levels of industrial development varied greatly from region to region. Life in early industrial cities was a hellish existence, factory workers often toiled for sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, under extremely dangerous conditions. After working themselves to exhaustion, they would return to their homes in crowded slums, often sharing their beds and sleeping in shifts; disease was rampant and life was brutal and often short. Faced with this reality, workers began to organize themselves into unions, and a workers movement gradually began to take shape. As capitalism spread across the world, so too did organized resistance.

In 1864, delegates from a number of countries met in London and established the International Workingmen’s Association (IWA), also known as the First International. This body became an important forum for the development of socialist ideas, and a site of bitter disagreements between leading revolutionary theorists. It was through these arguments that the first big split within ‘The Revolutionary Left’ emerged, between followers of Marx and those of Mikhail Bakunin—a Russian “collectivist” whose critiques of Marxism are fundamental to understanding the development of classical anarchism.

From its conception, Marx was a leading figure in the First International. Informed by his economic analysis of capitalism, he put forward a revolutionary political program for overthrowing it. Marx saw the industrial proletariat

Marx saw the industrial proletariat as the primary agent of this revolution—owing both to their intense exploitation under capitalism, and the specific role they played within a capitalist economy

merchants, bankers, and the aristocracy. In Britain, where capitalism first emerged, this process was expedited by a series of laws known as Enclosure Acts, which carved up the rural commons into plots of private property, and drove thousands of poor farmers into the rapidly-growing cities. These acts were emulated in other European countries as part of the process of capitalist urbanization (sometimes

(factory workers) as the primary agent of this revolution—owing both to their intense exploitation under capitalism, and the specific role they played within a capitalist economy (their relationship to the means of production.) He argued that once these workers became aware of their collective power, they would rise up and destroy the current class-based society (capitalism), and create a classless society (socialism) in its place. After the revolution, a transitional dictatorship of the proletariat would be established to secure revolutionary gains, and suppress any remaining capitalist resistance. As decades passed and the situation normalized, this socialist state would wither away and be replaced with a system of full communism under which all production and distribution would be organized according to the maxim “from each according to their abilities, to each according to their need.” While Marx believed that the revolution would ultimately be carried out by the masses, he believed that a revolutionary party (composed of intellectuals) was necessary to coordinate, and lead the struggle to its natural conclusions.

Bakunin and his supporters broadly agreed with Marx’s economic theories, but denounced his political program as authoritarian. Bakunin argued that putting a Communist Party in charge of coordinating the revolution would simply replace the capitalist class with a “red bureaucracy”, and noted that if such a revolution were successful, it would ultimately lead to “the reconstruction of the state, its privileges, its inequalities, and all its oppressions.” A state sanctified by such a revolution would become “the worst of all despotic governments” and “the more absolute because its despotism is carefully concealed under obsequious respect... for the will of the people.” For anarchists, all states are inherently oppressive, as their primary role is to organize and maintain control over the economy through a monopoly on the use of force (in the form of police, laws, prisons, armies etc.). Anarchists warned that the idea that any state would ever “wither away” was sheer fantasy, and furthermore, that any revolution carried out in the name of the industrial proletariat would violently impose its vision at the expense of the rural peasantry, which produced the food that fed the cities. In place of Marx’s vision, Bakunin and other anarchist theorists stressed that any liberatory revolution must be coordinated, and carried out by

the workers and peasants themselves, organized into networks of self-managed collectives.

In 1872, Bakunin was accused of launching a conspiratorial plot, and he and his supporters were expelled from the IWA. This act served to harden the divisions between anarchism and Marxism – a split that would become increasingly important as Bakunin’s predictions began to come true.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Marx’s revolutionary program was refined and ultimately put into practice by a group of exiled Russian Marxists led by Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky. For much of the Nineteenth century, Russia had been a hotbed of revolutionary activity. While its aristocracy and intellectuals were heavily influenced by European culture and politics, the incredibly vast size of the country had meant a slow pace of industrialization, and its Tsarist government resembled more of an absolute monarchy than its European counterparts—many of whom had transitioned to parliamentary democracies controlled by capitalists.

The Russian Revolution was sparked by a near universal resentment of Russia’s participation in World War I, and further influenced by the

Unlike other revolutionary philosophies of 'The Left', anarchism does not derive from a single great thinker, or leader

widespread appeal of socialist politics among its urban population. A period of increasing political unrest came to a head in February of 1917, when a crowd of rioters in Petrograd (modern-day St. Petersburg) were joined by soldiers who refused their orders to suppress the crowds, and instead turned their weapons on their commanding officers. Following the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, a provisional government was hastily set up along more European parliamentary lines. Meanwhile, workers immediately began taking over factories and organizing themselves into Soviets (structures similar in

principle to the self-managed collectives described by Bakunin). Lenin, Trotsky and other prominent Bolshevik Party members were caught off guard by this turn of events, but soon made their way back to Russia. By the end of October, the Bolsheviks, having taken control of the Petrograd Soviet, managed to seize power and declare the world’s first socialist state.

The apparent success of Lenin’s strategies inspired revolutionaries around the world, and was seen as a vindication of Marx’s political program. Following their deportation from the United States

in 1920, prominent anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman travelled to Russia to get a first-hand view of the changes taking place. What they saw there shocked them. Under the iron rule of the Soviet dictatorship “of the proletariat”, anarchists were being rounded up by the Bolshevik’s secret police and either murdered or imprisoned – often in the very same prisons built by the Tsar to jail political dissidents. The 1921 crushing of the Kronstadt Uprising dispelled any lingering doubts over Bakunin’s earlier warnings. The sailors that formed the core of the Kronstadt Soviet had been vital to the earlier military successes of the revolution, but had demanded freedom of speech and autonomy from the Bolshevik central government butchered and imprisoned in the thousands by Trotsky’s Red Army, as Petrograd, whose workers may have otherwise rallied to their defence, was placed under martial law. By 1922, the Bolsheviks had emerged victorious in the civil war and were well on their way to building one of the most repressive totalitarian dictatorships that the world has ever known.

The events in Russia were a particularly stark example of the incompatibility of anarchist and Marxist-Leninist strategies for revolution. Similar dynamics have played out repeatedly throughout history from the betrayal of the anarchists in the Spanish Civil War by Republican and Communist forces, to the arrest and repression of anarchists that followed the Cuban Revolution. The dynamic is always the same: anarchists and state socialists fight on the same side, until the anarchists are no longer needed by the state socialists and seen are thus ruthlessly wiped out as part of their consolidation of state power.


POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND DEMOCRACY

These dangers might seem far-fetched in our current political landscape. However, they point to differences in strategy that can have real consequences on struggles today. At its core, Marxism and its many political derivatives (Marxist-Leninism, Trotskyism, Maoism, etc.) are a form of political representation – they pick one particular section of society that is seen as the most revolutionary, then set out to take power as their established political representatives. The global spread of representative democracy as capitalism’s preferred system of government has corresponded with many Marxist groups shifting to a strategy of electoral politics. Most Marxist organizations today differ mainly over the type of political party they should support – with Canadian groups such as Fightback or Socialist Action choosing to focus on reforming the NDP, and other groups such as the Young Communist League (YCL) serving as

front organizations for orthodox communist parties such as the Communist Party of Canada (CPC).

There is, however, a problem with this strategy. Even if members of Fightback were successful in taking control of the NDP and winning a majority government on a socialist platform (a highly unlikely scenario in and of itself), they would still find themselves taking power of an entrenched capitalist state, deeply integrated into the global economy. Hierarchical political organizations concentrate strategic decision-making at the highest level. Yet, without a fiercely engaged base committed to transforming society through revolution, national governments are held hostage to powerful international financial institutions. Note that it was a supposedly “Socialist” government in Greece that approved the first round of austerity measures that have devastated the country’s economy since the 2008 financial crisis.

Representative democracy also works as a pressure valve on social and political unrest. If at any time things begin to get out of hand, the government can simply call an election in order to “let the people decide” at the polls. As the 2012 Quebec student strike demonstrated, this tactic de-mobilizes resistance movements, and ultimately paves the way for the resumption of the capitalist status quo. This principle of political representation has been further refined through the rise of the Non-Profit Industrial Complex. Whenever popular struggles break out, they are immediately seized by non-profits and co-opted in the name of political legitimacy. By granting legitimacy and “a seat at the table” to reformist organizations, the state wages a permanent counter-insurgency against any movement that it identifies as a potential threat. This process of representation and political co-option of struggles is called recuperation, and it is a concept that all radicals should be aware of.

The ways in which we organize shape the course of our struggles. In the place of hierarchal political organizations, anarchists seek the development of decentralized struggles led by the grassroots. Instead of electoral politics, we favour direct action carried out by all those oppressed and exploited under capitalism. In place of the state, we envision a free society based on the principles of mutual aid and voluntary association. These ideals may seem politically inconvenient or unrealistic to other leftists, but if history has shown us anything, it’s that anarchists have paid dearly for compromise and that other leftists are, at best, fair-weather friends. And as the saying goes—with friends like this... who needs enemies? 

Summer News Briefs

By The Peak Collective

JUNE 14TH

Hamilton, ON: About fifty folks gathered at the MacNab Street Bus Terminal in Hamilton to take the streets and demonstrate their anger about the police shooting of Steve Mesic on June 7th. They carried a sound system pumping out anti-cop tunes and handed out leaflets explaining the action while putting up posters and banners expressing anger and hatred toward the police. Mesic's murder is the second that officer Ryan Tocher has been associated with while employed by the Hamilton Police.

JUNE 15TH

Welland, ON: In broad daylight, a lone ALF activist slashed the tires on trucks used to bring chickens to the slaughterhouse, Cami International Poultry. The remaining trucks' license plates were covered in red paint to keep them from being driven. "Animal Liberation Front" was also spray painted on the cages of one of the trucks.

JUNE 20-26TH

Westover, ON: Indigenous and environmental activists occupy Enbridge's North Westover Pump Station under construction. The occupation was calling for the end of a proposal to carry crude tar sands oil through Southern Ontario to reach the Atlantic ports. After an injunction was passed, eighteen people were arrested when the police raided the site. More on page 31.

www.swampline9.tumblr.com/

JUNE 26TH

Southern Ontario: Railways were disrupted in solidarity with anti-Enbridge resistance. From the communique:

On Saturday night and Tuesday night, one CN mainline & one CP mainline passing through the surrounding area of Westover were disrupted by attaching a length of copper wire to the rails, signaling traffic to stop. This was inspired by the occupation of a Enbridge pumping station in Westover.

We choose to disrupt freight traffic after hearing of the occupation, and wanted to show our complicity with their struggle. The occupation was served an injunction on Tuesday, and we hope our actions let those occupiers know they are not alone. Today they were arrested and removed. Our actions are linked by their anti-capitalist nature, and freight traffic is an easy target for our resistance.

-some anarchists

JULY 8TH - ONGOING

California: Thirty thousand prisoners refused meals on the first day of a mass hunger strike, coordinated by inmates in segregation at Pelican Bay State Prison. The strike is confronting state policies that allow inmates to be held in isolation indefinitely for ties to prison gangs.

JULY 14TH

North America: After Robert Zimmerman was acquitted of the murder of Trayvon Martin in Florida, thousands of people, particularly young folks and people of colour, took to the streets across the US and Canada to express their outrage against a racist police and criminal justice system. Zimmerman, a "community watch" guard, shot Trayvon on February 26th as the seventeen-year-old made his way home to watch a football game.

JULY 24TH

London, ON: Two writers for the anarchist media collective, "The Indignants" were arrested and charged with mischief and conspiracy for allegedly painting a brick in an alley way which read, "I'm not just another brick in the wall." The arrests happened during a raid of their apartment where their computer, laptop, camera, external hard drive and cell phones were confiscated. They were forced to sign conditions of release which forbade them to use the internet or computers, cameras or recording devices. The whole situation seems an effort to gather intelligence and evidence on resistance movements in London and Southern Ontario.

JULY 25TH

Kingston, ON: Decline 9 Cataraqui called for actions in different cities to commemorate the Kalamazoo Enbridge oil spill which released over a million gallons of dilbit in creeks, wetlands and the Kalamazoo river. They called for the actions to highlight the currently proposed Line 9 re-activation.

RIGHT People tear down a section of the fence around the Laval Immigrant Detention Centre, Laval, Quebec. Photo by Alex Hundert



JULY 25TH

Kingston, ON: a group of 'pissed off anarchists' dyed the Market Square fountain black. A sign was left which read,

"Oil and water don't mix. On July 25th, the Kalamazoo River ran black. If Line 9 goes through, the Cat River will too. Stop Enbridge, Stop Line 9."

JULY 29TH

Toronto, ON: Over one thousand people attended a demonstration in response to the police killing of Sammy Yatim. The demonstration marched to the site he was killed and then a section of it broke off to head to the police station where those responsible work. More details on page 24.

JULY 30TH

Montreal, QC: As a late response to Decline 9 Cataraqui's call out, a banner was hung at the Atwater Tunnel in Saint-Henri. The translation read,

"We remember the black tide on the Kalamazoo River. Enbridge, go fuck yourself! Let's fuck up capitalism!"

AUGUST 4TH

Toronto, ON: Residents of a collective house on George St. noted that escalating efforts to gentrify their street have resulted in increased police surveillance

and harassment, including the arrest of one house member without charge.

AUGUST 11TH

Laval, QC: Around 100 migrants and supporters held a noise demonstration outside of the Laval Immigrant Detention Centre to commemorate Prisoner Justice Day. Silhouettes of loved ones held inside the detention center and banners were hung on the fence. A section of the fence was torn down and people entered the perimeter. A video is available on The Peak website.

AUGUST 14TH

Hamilton, ON: A demonstration of fifty people weaved through the street's of Hamilton in opposition to Enbridge's Line 9 reversal. The demonstration ended at the courthouse to support the eighteen people arrested during an occupation of an Enbridge pumping station in June. Eight people were arrested as scuffles erupted between court officers and protesters. More info can be found in the article focusing on summer resistance to the Line 9 reversal on page 31.

AUGUST 19TH

Toronto, ON: A demonstration of almost one thousand people marched to the Toronto Police Headquarters during a Police Board's meeting. More on page 24.
Caistor Centre, ON: The ignitions of trucks at a slaughterhouse called Abingdon Meat Packers were superglued. Small pieces of metal from roofing staples were placed in the ignition and then super glued. From the communique:

"Abingdon Meat Packers exclusively kills baby animals and gluing these locks will hopefully disrupt their operations by stopping them from transporting the dead animals to food processing plants."

AUGUST 26TH

Simcoe, ON: Early in the morning the ALF raided Royal Oak Fur Farm. From the communique:

We approached the fur farm and laid down in the tall grass so we could watch the guard's building for any sign of movement. Once we were satisfied it was empty, we cut the bands that attach the chainlink fence to the poles and then tore a large area of fence down at the back of the farm and opened the front gate. We estimate we released about 750 mink and 50 fox. The fox almost seemed to understand what was happening because once they realized they were free, they wasted no time leaving their cages and escaping through the holes we made in the fence. Δ



LEFT Photos from the July 29th demonstration in response to Sammy Yatims murder. Photos by Bryan Hill, @punxie89 - Instagram.

Remember Sammy, Fight for Tomorrow: Hoodies Up for Forcillo's Trial

On July 27th, 2013 Sammy Yatim, an eighteen year old recent immigrant from Syria was murdered by the Toronto Police. Since then tensions have run high as the police continue to work with impunity By Anonymous

STANDING ALONE WITH A KNIFE IN HIS HAND at the open doors of a streetcar on Dundas St. in Toronto just after midnight. The internet video of Sammy Yatim's final moments show a one sided conversation as police with guns drawn, bark orders. It sounds as if an ultimatum is offered to the effect of, 'if you take one step in this direction, you'll get a bullet in your head'.

Sammy remains on the streetcar, and Constable James Forcillo shoots three times, Sammy falls to the ground, and after a brief pause, Forcillo shoots another six rounds. A higher-ranking sergeant enters the streetcar, and as Sammy lies dying on the floor, he uses a taser to shock Sammy. All this happens within a couple minutes of police arriving. July 27th, 2013 Sammy Yatim, an eighteen year old recent immigrant from Syria was murdered by the Toronto Police.

Sammy was the eleventh person killed in an altercation with Toronto

Police in the past year and a half. Sadly, most of these other cases have been easily swept under the rug, justified as cases of mental illness and nearly forgotten. Sammy's death received national attention due in large to a Youtube video showing his murder.

PATIENCE, RESPECT AND MOURNING

Two days following Sammy's death, friends and family of Sammy called a demonstration. Tension hung thick in the air as over a thousand people showed up to Yonge and Dundas square. The demonstration included a diverse group of people, with activists representing a minority in the crowd. Out of respect for Sammy's family's mourning, the crowd controlled its anger that day, with signs calling for patience while promising that one day soon, we will get our day.

As the demonstration got moving, people cursed and shouted at the police.

Sammy's sister and mother led the crowd, and on multiple occasions situations were deescalated between the crowd and the police. The commercial district rang with chants of "Justice for Sammy", "Cops, Pigs, Murderers", "Fuck the Police" and "All Cops Are Bastards".

As the demonstration passed in front of 52nd Division, people ran at the doors surrounded by cops. The cops smiled dumbly as people hurled insults at them. After a number of tense moments, the crowd continued on towards the site where Sammy was killed. A sense of mourning hung in the crowd as fifty of Sammy's friends marched together in silence, all wearing black hoodies and sunglasses.

Once the demonstration reached the intersection where Sammy was killed two days earlier, a silence fell over the crowd, as his family fell to the ground weeping. Flowers, posters and messages were left all over the street as the chants died out.



LEFT "Cops, Pigs, Murderers" Banner on July 29th, 2013; Donuts dangled in front of the police during August 13th, 2013 demonstration.

OPPOSITE RIGHT "Killer Cops Off Our Streets" Banner on July 29th, 2013; Still from Youtube video of the killing.



For some, the reality of the situation was too frustrating and a window was smashed on a car parked at the intersection. The crowd reacted poorly to this, 'booing' and a few wanna-be cops tried to citizen arrest someone. He was wrestled free and people stepped in to deescalate the situation but the vigilantes followed him through the demo. The vigilantes were confronted and the kid left the demo, only to be followed a few blocks where he was jumped by a group of undercover cops, beaten and arrested.

With little communication in the crowd and disinterest from organizers, this situation escaped the consciousness of most people present and the demonstration continued onto Bellwood Trinity Park. At this point, the family announced the end of the demonstration, but the majority of the crowd was not content to leave just yet. Word spread throughout the crowd to march on the 14th Division where the cops responsible for Sammy's shooting worked.

The majority of the demonstration broke off and marched on towards

the headquarters, surrounding the front doors, banging on windows and screaming at the police. This continued for an hour until the crowd dissolved just before nightfall.

MEDIA SPECTACLE

Following the demonstration, a confidential police source contacted the media and fingered James Forcillo as the shooter. James Forcillo was suspended with pay. The Special Investigation Unit (SIU), a joke of an organization in charge of investigating police actions that involve death, serious injury or sexual assault, announced an investigation into Sammy's murder and Police Chief Bill Blair scrambled to make statements expressing his alarm and shock at his officer's actions.

A follow up demonstration was called for August 13th, and drew a crowd of almost a thousand people. One person held a donut on a fishing rod in front of police officers and the crowd taunted the police. Many family members of people killed by Toronto police came out. It felt

clear that the frustration in the streets was about more than just one bad cop.

On August 19th, James Forcillo was charged with second-degree murder, and was released with minimal conditions the same day he was taken into custody. Such a lenient bail hearing is unheard of for most murder charges, yet the police demonstrate time and time again that they look out for their own.

NOT JUST ONE BAD APPLE

The Toronto police maintain a fraternity-like atmosphere, each ready to back up and defend each other's actions or maintain silence and complicity in the face of an investigation. There were twenty officers present who did nothing as the situation escalated. There are countless other officers who have played the same roles in the dozens of other serious situations this year alone. Still, there are no charges laid against any of the other officers that night, including the sergeant who tasered Sammy as he lay on the ground.



When kids like Sammy are murdered, we understand that we must burn cars, loot and destroy this city to establish a point. The police operate without consequences and with impunity. If we riot, perhaps next time every officer will think twice before pulling the trigger.

WHO POLICES THE POLICE?

The Special Investigations Unit (SIU) was established in 1990 following the recommendations of a commission on race relations and policing. The early 90's in Toronto were rocked by the killing of eight black men by police, culminating in an anti-police riot on Yonge st. which saw thirty seven officers injured and thirty arrests. Prior to the implementation of the SIU, the police in Ontario investigated themselves. Although the SIU calls itself "Civilian Oversight", all of their full-time staff are ex-cops and other law enforcement agents.

The SIU's record shows that you can take a cop out of the force, but you can't take the force out of the cop. Since its beginning, the SIU has investigated 4126 situations involving police where someone has been seriously injured, killed or sexually assaulted. Less than 3% of these situations have resulted in charges being laid against a cop. As of 2008, The Toronto Star reported only sixteen of those charged officers were convicted of a crime and only three have served any jail time. That is a 0.04% conviction rate!

TRIAL DATES, NIGHTS OF RAGE

Since the SIU's beginning, only six police have been charged with manslaughter, the lightest offense in homicide cases. Forcillo is the first Toronto Police officer to be charged with second degree murder. All of these cases saw the officer convicted and then acquitted during an appeal except one currently before the courts. The fraternity of the police extends beyond the force; it is present in the relationship between the SIU, judges, wardens and politicians.

During Forcillo's trial, the politicians and police will likely form commissions, make recommendations and reforms to the policing apparatus, and they may even convict Forcillo. None of this, however, will change the monopoly of force that the police maintain.

Police are the only gang that has the right to stop, frisk, detain, assault, kill, imprison and torture with impunity. The courts, police and politicians who have created the rule of law, established it with two tiers to maintain that we are not equal.

This is why the SIU only investigates a fraction of police violence. That doesn't

include off-duty cops, 'minor injuries', when it happens in prison or when it goes unnoticed. We don't say anything because we know it won't go anywhere.

This is why we say, "Fuck the Police" and mean it, instead of pleading for Forcillo to be convicted. This is why we wear hoods and masks at anti-police demonstrations. This is exactly why we throw bottles and rocks at police lines when we can get away with it.

When kids like Sammy are murdered, we understand that we must burn cars, loot and destroy this city to establish a point. The police operate without consequences and with impunity. If we riot, perhaps next time every officer will think twice before pulling the trigger.

Guilty or innocent, we will be in the streets with hoods up and masks on to make a point. It isn't just one bad apple, it's the whole lot of them.

See you in the streets the nights surrounding Forcillo's trial to remember Sammy and everyone else brutalized by police and to fight for the living. Spread the word and get organized. △



LEFT One of two SWN Resource drilling trucks lit on fire on June 25th, 2013. Photo by Miles Howes

Elsipogtog Resistance to Fracking

In the Mi'kmaq community of Elsipogtog local natural gas fracking has ignited a firestorm of resistance. Over the summer a wave of highway blockades, sacred fires and property destruction has disrupted SWN Resources plan to mine on native territory. *Compiled from the Media Co-op Coverage*

THE MI'KMAQ TERRITORY OF SIGNIGTOG has been the site of recent natural gas exploration and attempts to conduct seismic testing searching for natural gas deposits. Hydraulic fracturing or fracking is a process by which a plethora of harmful, undocumented, chemicals are pressurized and shot into rock formations in order to crack and expose natural gas sources deep beneath the bedrock. Fracking is inherently dangerous and irresponsible due to the heavy abundance of water required to hold the chemicals and because it places considerable and well-documented risk to aquifers, wells and the surrounding ecosystem.

Here is a chronology of events that have taken place in resistance to SWN Resources (Southwestern Energy)

explorative shale gas drilling in the Mi'kmaq community of Elsipogtog.

"What's illegal, us taking their truck, or them poisoning our water?"

-Willi Nolan, elder

On June 5th, over one hundred people gathered to pray, drum and block Route 126, an arterial road used by SWN. A Stantec truck was also seized and dumped at the RCMP station the previous day. Ed Sullivan, Lorraine Clair and one other person, were arrested after refusing to leave. Lorraine Clair sustained extensive muscle, neuron and tendon damage by the police.

On June 9th Susanne Patles, a Mi'kmaq woman and one other person,

were arrested on Route 126. Patles was charged with mischief after she scattered tobacco and knelt to pray on the highway.

On June 10th, Suzanne Patles was released after being remanded for twenty-one hours. She has been banned from being anywhere within one kilometer of any drilling or testing site in "Westmorland or Kent County" for two months.

On June 11th, Susanne Patles and Lorraine Clair, held a press conference where they issued an open call urging supporters from all nations to attend the lighting of a sacred fire near Elsipogtog that afternoon, as well as, those unable to attend light their own fires and pray in solidarity with the area's anti-fracking efforts.



"We're not going to let them pass...we've made our sacred fire. We're going to stand our ground here."

*- Elsipogtog War Chief
John Levi*

The sacred fire was lit directly on Route 126, in the path of the seismic testing trucks. It must continuously burn for four days.

On June 14th in the middle of a sunrise ceremony the RCMP arrested eleven people on the site. Prior to the arrests, the RCMP had blocked off road access, refusing to allow supporters onto the site. The ceremony halted work for two full days. Previously work had been proceeding at a rate of six to eight kilometers per day.

On June 15th, Mi'kmaq chiefs of the region issued this notice:

"The Migmag Grand Council of the Signigtog district, District 6 hereby gives public notice to all potential developers, the Government of Canada, and the province of New Brunswick, that pursuant to our Indigenous and



Inherent rights as the rightful and lawful owners of all Signigtog District Lands and resources, that no shale gas exploration and/or development or gas line shall proceed within our district without the expressed written consent and full participation of the Migmag Grand Council and the migmag people of the Signigtog District"

"...They've [SWN] bought everyone's silence, they often state that they haven't damaged anyone.."

*- Matt Sura,
Environmental Attorney*

By stating that no harm to the environment or people can come from hydraulic fracturing, SWN has dictated the dominant discourse; boasting that seismic testing does not do any environmental damage. However, SWN has been fined on numerous occasions to be responsible for spilling drilling fluid, unauthorized chemical discharges as well as contamination of drinking water, in Pennsylvania and Arkansas.

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT

One of twelve people arrested on June 21st at the sacred fire encampment; Segewaast arrested on June 21st; Warriors pose in front of seized truck on July 27th, 2013; John Levi hugs his fiancée after being released on July 8th, 2013. Photos by Miles Howes

RIGHT Inset Elsipogtog War Chief John Levi; Warriors seize truck overnight on July 27th, 2013 Photos by Miles Howes

How can they state that hydraulic fracturing has no negative implications on health and the environment, when there a lack of air quality and water quality monitoring occurring throughout and following the process?

SWN has also attempted to buy out and intentionally mislead opposition to their seismic testing by authorizing false advertisements and paying for people to attend a company info session.

"It is time for your government to start talking with us. We have tried petitions, letters, requests for meetings, protests and everything else we could think of to get your attention. Your avoidance has been complete."

*- Upriver
Environmental Watch*

On June 19th, SWN Resources resumed testing and re routed their work seven kilometers north of the sacred fire.

On June 20th, a twelve year old Elsipogtog youth, smudged sage in front of an SWN truck and was threatened by being told that if he didn't leave, he would be run over.



On June 21st, National Aboriginal Day, twelve people were arrested for drumming and singing on Highway 126. An eight and a half months pregnant Mi'kmaq woman was arrested, as well as another indigenous woman who was punched in the face by the police.

On June 25th, two SWN trucks were set on fire. Three individuals had spotted the driller trucks on private land, without permission and sent a call out over social media to rally at the site.

On July 18th, anti-shale activists, came across SWN contractors laying drilling holes in a wetland, leading to a standoff between the contractors, RCMP, activists and the "Industrial Security Limited" a security company owned by Irving Oil. This private company has engaged in harassment and intimidation of activists, including arbitrary detention, roadblocks and surveillance.

One of the sites that SWN have been conducting seismic testing lies just two meters adjacent to a cemetery, even though there are provincial regulations which list the minimum setback from a cemetery to be fifty meters.

On July 22nd, a press conference was held and a panel of speakers spoke about fracking in the area. There was a general

sense of frustration in the conference.

On July 25th, Annie "Pochahontas" Clair, tied herself to several helicopter bags which held geo-phones used for seismic testing. The action lasted 45 minutes.

On July 27th, in a homage to the Sundance festival, a celebration partaken by community members in Eslipogtog, thirty five anti-shale activists blockaded an SWN truck for over eight hours. Pochahontas and two others again chained themselves to helicopter bags while a heavy police and RCMP presence boxed in the activists and refused entry to their supporters. The activists were denied access to food or water while the police brought in pizzas for themselves. There were no arrests that night, but the RCMP made no promises for the days ahead.

On July 24th, the Migmag Grand Council of the Signigtog District sent an eviction notice to SWN Resources:

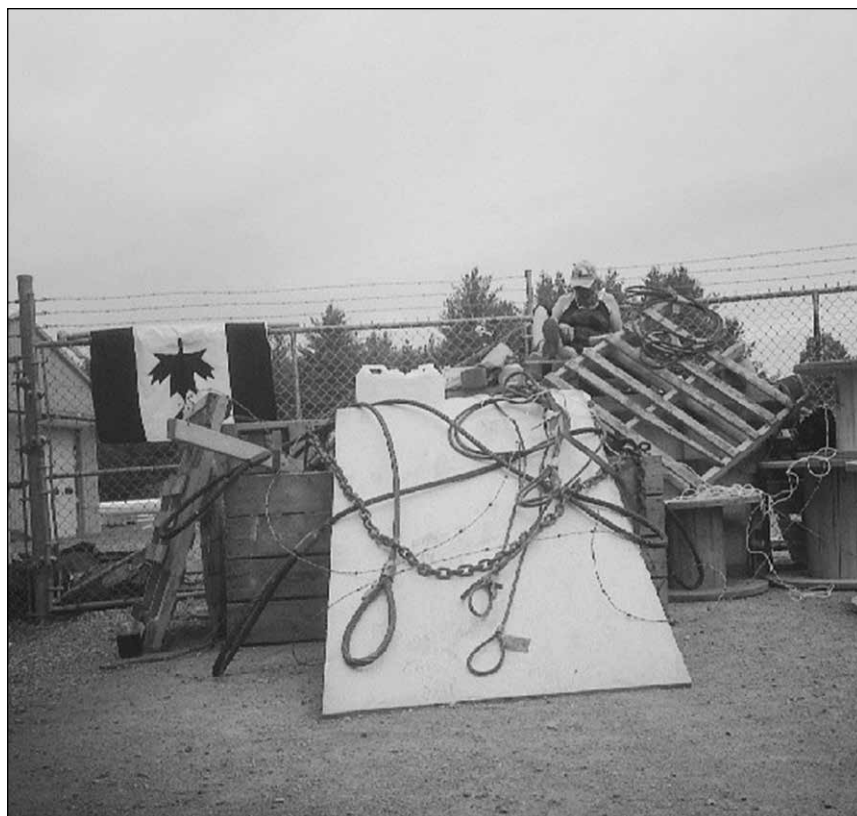
The people of the sovereign Mi'kmaq Nation in the Territory of Signigtog do hereby serve this NOTICE OF EVICTION to Southwestern Energy Company, SWN Resources Canada, and any affiliated subsidiary company or contractor engaged in shale gas exploration or development in the Territory of Signigtog. Any permit, lease, license,

agreement or authorization of any kind issued by the Province of New Brunswick or Government of Canada related to shale gas exploration in the Signigtog District is VOID and illegal.

Following negotiations between the RCMP and Eslipogtog chiefs and warriors, concluded on July 30th with a couple of announcements. SWN Resources will be permitted to detonate eleven shot holes along the contested Line 5 route. Twenty five of the thirty five arrestees will have their charges dropped and a break in construction will take place until mid September, where they will focus on Lines 3 and 4 which are much closer to Eslipogtog First Nation, and where earlier attempts to seismic test those lines have resulted in significant equipment destruction.

On August 9th, Suzanne Patles, was in court to contest that her conditions violate her charter rights. **Δ**

For more information on this ongoing struggle visit www.halifax.mediacoop.ca tags: Environment; Direct Action; Indigenous; Fuck Fracking.



Resistance to Line 9

This summer, Enbridge's Line 9 reversal project met with fierce and uncompromising opposition.

By Various authors

ENBRIDGE'S LINE 9 PIPELINE REVERSAL HAS been a rallying point of contention, resistance and solidarity this summer. As we head into the National Energy Board's final proceedings to decide on the feasibility of approving stage two of this disaster project, we thought it would be relevant to share a compiled summation of some of the events that have happened thus far.

For anyone out there who has not heard of Line 9, it is a pipeline that was built in 1976 to carry light crude. On it's way from Sarnia, through Toronto and Montreal on to Maine it passes through major urban areas, waterways headwaters and hundreds of kilometres of land rightfully belonging to indigenous peoples. Originally, the directional flow of was

eastward as refined crude in Sarnia was transported into Quebec. In the late 90's the flow was reversed as a result of changing markets conditions. Enbridge seeks to now reverse the flow a third time; back to it's original eastward position, this time to carry heavy dilbit or diluted bitumen from the Alberta Tar Sands. On July 27th, 2012 the National Energy Board approved phase one of reversal – Sarnia to Westover, ON.

Line 9 poses serious risks to the health of the environment and people all along its route. Line 9 would be part of a larger infrastructural project that would allow the Tar Sands to expand. These pipelines function as bottlenecks for an industry that at the moment, is largely landlocked. If this oil were to successfully

EXCERPT FROM: SWAMP THE COURTS BY ANONYMOUS


On August 14th 2011 in a courtroom filled with individuals facing charges stemming from Swamp Line 9 and their supporters, some powerful and wild acts of solidarity occurred.

I have been charged, potentially amongst other things, with disrupting court. "Guilty" of this or not, it's court we are talking about here. Courtrooms are easily one of the most disruptive places around. A place (like most places in this world) where only those of certain classes and race can flourish or even understand what the fuck is going on. I was reminded of this yesterday. Before the Swamp Line 9 crew started to go up, I sat and watched case after case of defendants comprised of racialized individuals, immigrants who don't speak English and people with mental health issues, go up against the goof of a prosecutor, her goon friend the judge, both backed by their muscle, (the police). As the judge humiliated defendants for having their hands in their pockets, for chewing gum, or for not knowing English, I was reminded of the circus-type proceedings of the courtroom, proceedings which showcase domination by those in power and demand submission from those who are not. The court room exemplifies, to a more intense degree, the inequality and control that goes on every day in the most formal and sterile manner.

This is a place where peoples' lives are disrupted in intense ways: families are ripped apart via jail time and conditions, people are given fines that they will never be able to pay and much more. The courtroom is a place designed for disruption.

Not only is the courtroom a place of disruption and domination in itself, it also reinforces and justifies the brutal disruption and destruction that happens to communities, land bases and individuals at the hand of corporations, police and capitalism in general. It takes away autonomy from individuals and communities to act in accordance with their own needs by imposing its sanctions. Furthermore we can't forget the role that courts play and have played in the stealing of native land and colonization in general, as the courts attempt to control land they have no rights over. The role the courts play in colonization is so huge it is hard to comprehend today (especially for those of us who don't feel the effects of this).

Watching my friends go up against the court for their role in resisting Enbridge's plundering of this land base, we are reminded of how the court enforces laws which allow horrendous projects such as Line 9 to go forward in many ways, such as repressing and silencing those who try to resist it, and those who try to support those resisters. The court has shown itself complicit with the disaster that is Line 9 and the oil industry in general.

So, to those who had my back so fiercely, those who are constantly fucked over by courts, those who don't let the intimidating glare of the courts dictate their role in resisting Line 9 and other such monsters, and any of you who carry this same fiery anger, I send the most "disruptive" solidarity your way! 



ABOVE Noise demo at Hamilton Police Central station after cops attacked court room.
@alexhundert
- instagram

OPPOSITE PAGE
Barricade at the back gate
@alexhundert
- instagram

reach the ports, it would significantly increase the price of oil, which would allow for the expansion of a catastrophic industrial project.

Bitumen is a product created through the Tar Sands. When pushed through a pipe, chemicals are added along with intense heat, to transport the nearly solid material; which is why it is referred to as diluted bitumen. Effectively it is a hot, sticky, corrosive, peanut butter sandpaper substance. Line 9 was never built to handle this type of heavy material, nor can a forty-year-old pipeline be expected to withstand this type of pressure or contents. It is inevitable that a leak will happen. Take for example the Kalamazoo disaster on July 25th, 2010. The community of Kalamazoo in Michigan was forever

changed after Enbridge's Line 6B pipeline ruptured near the river, spilling over a million gallons of dilbit. This leaked into creeks, wetlands and the river, poisoning water fifty six kilometres downstream.

In mid March, communities from all across Southern Ontario came to Aamjiwnaang, and gathered for a weekend to meet and partake in discussions about Line 9 and discuss what resistance to Line 9 could look like. Building on this solidifying regional network, the momentum grew as grassroots and mainstream opposition alike began making media, spreading the word and mobilizing supporters around this important issue.

Actions, demonstrations, canvassing and information booths brought Line 9 into the consciousness of many people. It



ABOVE Solidarity with #swampline9 in Toronto @anistar181 - Instagram

began to be talked about on conventional news as the link between this pipeline and the expansion of the tar sands became clear. For many though, including all the major political parties; the narrative was framed in terms of economic growth, rather than the mindset that the oil industry is a death machine and that the arteries of this machine must always be resisted.

On January 23rd, Environmental Defense called for a day of action against Line 9. Over twenty cities across Ontario, America and Quebec responded with creative actions of their own, denouncing the project.

This summer, on June 20th, an occupation at the Enbridge Westover Terminal in Hamilton began. In the early morning, 60 or so people from all over Southern Ontario gathered and walked onto the site, sent the workers home for a “long

weekend”, locked the gates and set up tenting gear and site logistics. This action was dubbed #SwampLine9, as a direct response to growing agitation, frustration and outrage. Acts of solidarity were frequent, with supporters dropping off food, water, supplies and well wishes.

On June 25th, five day’s later; the site was served with an injunction, addressed to a “Jane and John Doe” which effectively meant everyone, but no one. In response to this, solidarity actions took place; taking the forms of banner drops, road blockades and railway disruptions in over ten cities.

While this occupation came to an end, the fight against Line 9 cannot, keep it up.

To conclude – Fuck Enbridge, fuck capitalism – against the reversal and the oil economy in general. △

EXCERPT FROM: ENBRIDGE RESISTANCE BY ANONYMOUS

We are waiting.

Waiting to see duty counsel. To see the prosecutor. To be called into court.

Waiting for our turn to be called before the judge.

The prosecutor drills me with questions – pressing about the entire group’s intentions and arguments.

I am nervous and terrified.

Strangulation.

It is twenty seconds caught on film that I still cannot watch without feeling incredible discomfort and a broad range of emotions.

Despite the annoyance of ongoing court dates, I don’t regret my choice to lock down.

I fear the reality that will exist if I don’t take action, more than I fear the risk in taking that action.

Together, we built a fun and meaningful action. here △



Against The Citizen

Government and capitalism employ constructs like citizenship and nationalism to pit us against each other, as demonstrated by Guelph's outsourcing of labour and production to low-wage regions of the Global South while importing temporary foreign workers to our region. By Anonymous

WHAT HAVE WE DONE! THERE ARE VERY scary tendencies towards nationalism in Guelph's progressive communities. Implicit within nationalism is the concept of citizenship. In an attempt to bolster public support, progressives have largely adopted positive stances on nationalism and citizenship. This can be demonstrated in Canadian-flag-waving union demonstrations or the national interests that underlines all debate on water or resource sovereignty. Conversations rarely brought into the debate are that the riches of Guelph and Canada have been primarily extracted from the poor and largely people of colour globally.

Progressive communities often focus on personal consumer choices. We are encouraged to buy "local, Canadian-made" products yet remain oblivious to the fact that virtually all of our food and many of our Canadian-made products are made by subordinated foreign workers. The fascist right violently attacks migrants, knowing that they can capitalize on ethnic and class tensions, exacerbated by a failing economy.

The concept of Citizen creates a dichotomy of the Other. It implies a division between those who "deserve" their status and those who are relegated to a lower strata.

If we reject the systematic denial of access and exclusion of the workers who produce our daily food and commodities, we have to critically inspect the half-hearted attempts of the advocacy groups and unions who attempt to be the voice of

the excluded while simultaneously using the rhetoric of the Citizen. 'Rights for migrants', 'citizenship for all', 'good enough to work, good enough to stay'. In Guelph, we do not need to remove the "foreigner" from the equation; we need to remove the idea of "citizen" and make visible all that is invisible. Moreover, we need to focus on the migrant workers themselves, as well as their working conditions and the numerous forms of exploitation they suffer.

Let us remember that borders do not exist at the edge of a territory but follow people inside those territories. The border exists on our bodies; that is where our struggles begin.

The human rights framework that we cling to in Guelph is laden with dangerous assumptions. First, rights imply citizenship. Historically, they have always been measured and distributed according to status: citizen, temporary, illegal. Second, human rights necessitate state enforcement of those rights. The Canadian state that militarizes the borders against foreigners, enacts anti-immigrant laws, and builds human warehouses to contain the so-called "illegal prisoner" (or, at this point, refugee), is the same government that votes on, enacts, and enforces our rights. For the migrant, human rights are a dead end. For

the government, they are a convenient tool to reinforce authority. We must abandon the human rights framework. It is useless, damaging, and it excludes our allies.

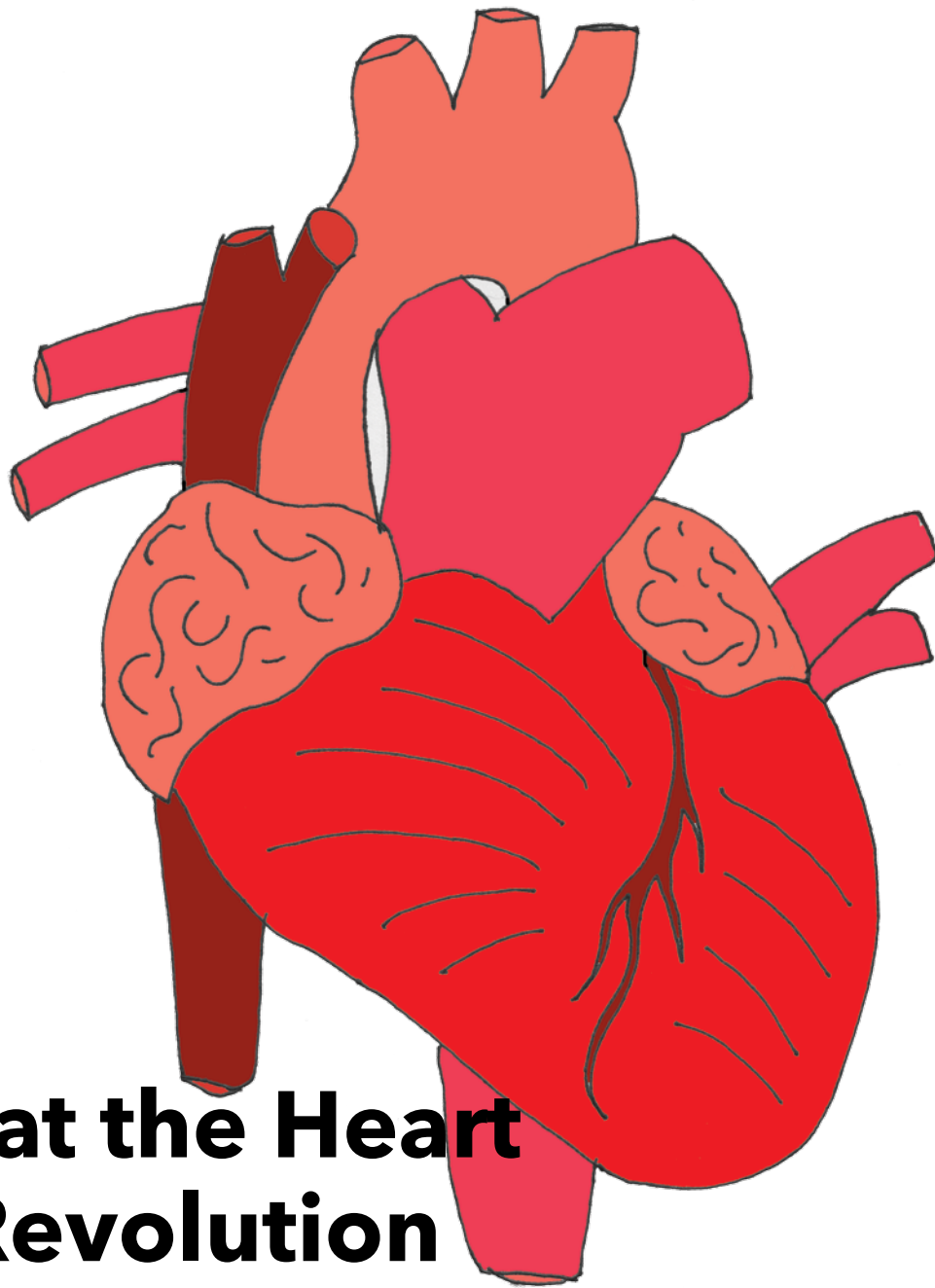
It is not people that cross borders, it is borders that cross people. Borders and state laws create vulnerabilities in people and shape every relation a human can have to others and even to themselves. Let us remember that borders do not exist at the edge of a territory but follow people inside those territories. The border exists on our bodies; that is where our struggles begin. The goal is to liberate ourselves and our spaces in the process. Against the domination of one over another, we can express solidarity with all people who are invisible. But first we must take a stance.

AGAINST THE CITIZEN; FOR THE HUMAN!

Next time you go to the grocery store in Guelph, Think of all the labour you never see: who grew those tomatoes, who processed your fish and portioned your chicken; who made the office supplies and toiletries you purchase. This labour is systematically removed from our sight, so that we never see the workers, never know what toils and troubles they go through. Like ghosts, they are everywhere around us and we constantly consume their dead labour.

It is up to us to support these workers and make their struggles and conditions visible until there are no more ghosts.

Let's not mince words: We are against the citizen and its boundaries. **Δ**



Art at the Heart of Revolution

The relationship between Anarchism and art is complex, but for some a necessary part of their personal struggle, growth, and expression. *By Awâsis*

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ANARCHISM AND ART IS deeply rooted in our personal and collective experiences. By embodying our movements toward the liberation of humanity and all of creation, we can fully realize our true selves in our work by inspiring stories for the people. Intertwined with anarchism, spoken word in particular has the transformative potential to be healing, empowering, and confrontational. When we harness this power, our movements can resonate with even more people in more meaningful ways.

HEAL

Capitalist society subverts and degrades our relationship to the land, ourselves, and each other. Whether one is conscious of it or not, this causes emotional trauma and stress. Often we do not completely understand all the complex systems of power at work in our daily lives and cannot relate to most of the stories we are surrounded by. Dominant narratives do not accurately encapsulate our feelings of oppression; instead, they actually enable and justify oppression and genocide.

Spoken word creates space for stories that do not fit in the dominant narrative. Spoken word artists can help people navigate this tension in ways that give rise to new understandings about how we are connected to other people and the world around us. Spoken word provides a way of expressing our realities and coming to an understanding of the root causes of our experiences.

Writing is an introspective process that engages the mind and body in an attempt to be honest with ourselves; through writing, we can come to know the reasons for our pain and discomfort. We are then able to rid ourselves of socially imposed constraints on our ways of thinking during this process. We can resist colonialism, capitalism, and other oppressive systems with life activity that reconnects us to our humanity and nature. We can relearn how to authentically love and respect ourselves, each other, and the earth.

EMPOWER

Spoken word can not only restore a sense of connectedness but also transform this feeling into inspiration to take action. Spaces in which poetry is performed can provide power to people who have historically been, and continue to be, silenced by dominant narratives. In particular, the spoken word of Indigenous Peoples is part of the continuation of oral traditions that have existed since time immemorial. The primacy of written word in colonial society indicates the power that assimilation to writing practices affords marginalized Peoples, as well as the significant risks it poses to this legacy of oral traditions.

When we expose injustice by speaking our truths, we make visible the lived experiences of oppression and exploitation which are often made formally invisible within this society. Making people see what they do not necessarily experience, or making them think about their experiences in a different way, can be a powerful source of empathy and anti-oppressive education. The realization that our oppression and liberation are intimately intertwined with each others' and the Earth has an activating quality. However, empathy and education alone do not absolve people from being responsible for further dismantling oppression.

Spoken word can help dismantle oppression by reclaiming space and making it as void of colonial and hierarchical power structures as possible. By amplifying the voices of those silenced in society, spoken word can empower others to write their own poetry, share their own stories, speak out against injustice, or create safer, more inclusive and accessible spaces for people to do so. While building solidarity, we must always be trying to create spaces that look like how we want them to be post-revolution.

CONFRONT

Through collective healing and empowerment, art can build upon our communities' resistance. This means that, while we create alternative ways of living, we can also actively confront dominant systems and narratives. It is not simply a matter of addressing specific politicians or institutions, but the entire colonial, capitalist, patriarchal regime that is destroying the Earth and her Peoples.

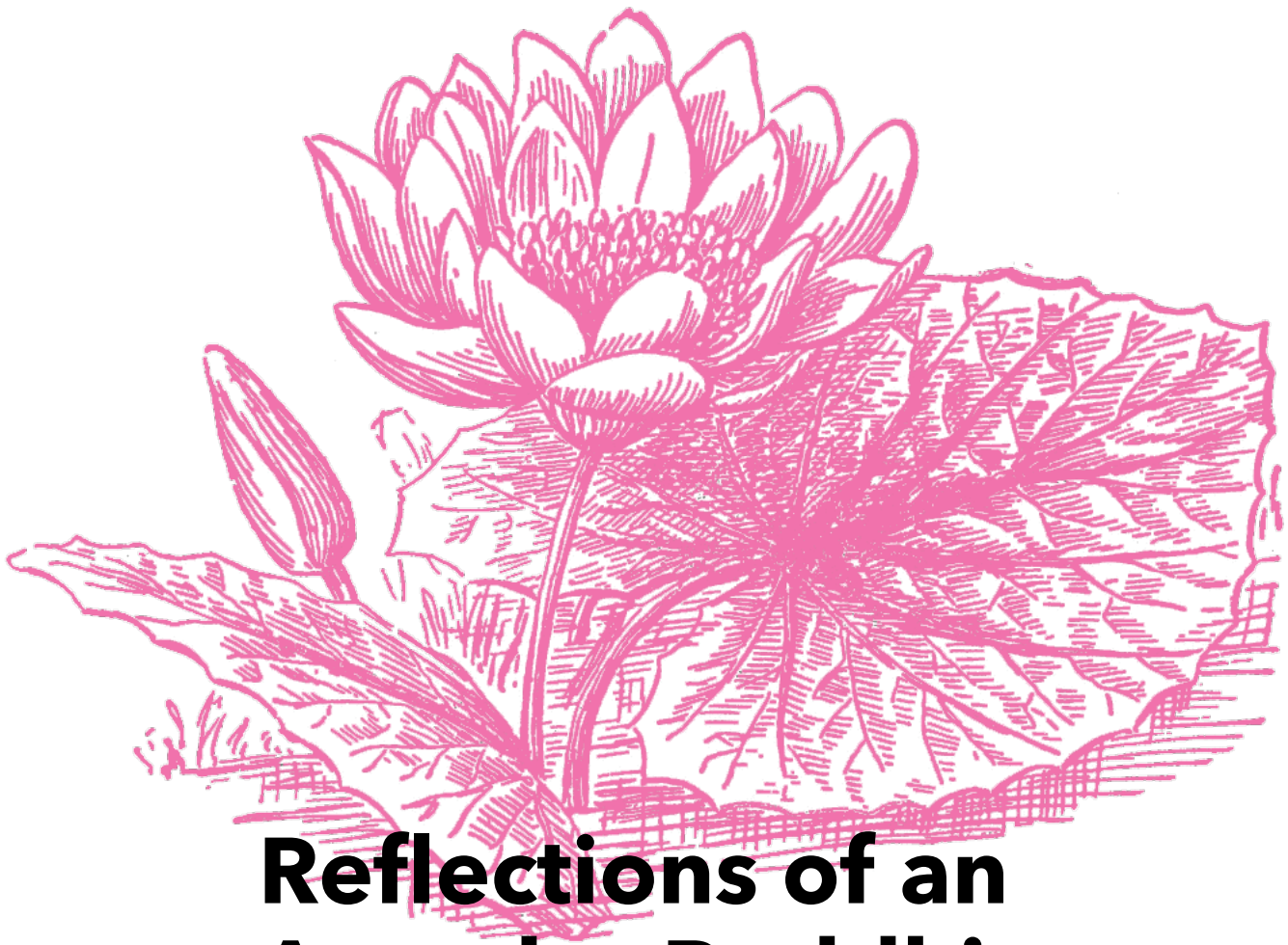
Art is confrontational when placed where it directly disrupts dominant power structures without compromising its community empowerment and healing. This means it actively takes up space, such as at blockades or marches, instead of reclaiming or creating it. For instance, when collaborating with Indigenous Peoples to assist in seizing land and returning it to them, spoken word and other performance art can be used to help draw more people out, inspire further action, and have important conversations about what safer spaces can look like in a specific context.

Together, spoken word and direct action can take up and politicize space, rather than seeking to compromise with the systems that police it. There should be certain issues that everyone collectively refuses to negotiate upon, such as principles of decolonization. This will force our adversaries

to confront larger issues at the root of oppression, instead of making small concessions.

Not only do creative forms of direct action have the transformative power to confront systems of oppression and create real alternatives, but they can also have a snowball effect. The more we successfully confront and dismantle oppressive systems, the more space that can be made for healing, empowerment and, as a result, inspiration to continue working in our communities to forge even more creative resistance. ▲

Spoken word can help dismantle oppression by reclaiming space and making it as void of colonial and hierarchical power structures as possible.



Reflections of an Anarcho-Buddhist

In one person's line, buddhist spirituality and anti-authoritarian politics collide in unexpected and profound ways. By Marcy Goldstein

WHILE REFLECTING ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN anarchism and buddhism, I find myself caught in a maze of dualisms. There are many ways to approach both buddhism and anarchism, some ways lay the path into further questioning about this earth and our relationship to it, and some present a fixed narrative upon which to see the world. The last thing I want to accomplish is to lay out the ideological framework of how anarchism and buddhism can support one another, because for me I see each as a path of questioning that never leads to a complete answer. There is no one kind of buddhism, there is no one kind of anarchism, and I am but one person that weaves the two into her existence. I am reminded of a story, where my father and I were walking along Aylmer Street in Peterborough, and I was trying to get him to admit that he was a feminist. He wouldn't, and I was enraged, and proceeded to ask him if he was an environmentalist, or any ist. To each he answered in the negative, and finally I asked

him "but you must be a Buddhist!" He answered "No, definitely not. It is impossible to be a buddhist!" To put this story in context – my father has been a buddhist practitioner for over forty years.

For years I would not call myself an anarchist, but used the word 'anarcho', seeing anarchism as something that is constantly in motion. As an 'anarcho' I examine my relationship to various forms of oppression. I strived for freedom and attempted to fight for the well being of this earth. It was not until the state increased its crusade against anarchism after the 2010 Toronto G20, where I found myself caught in the fists of repression, that I decided to claim the label. There were also years where I would not call myself a buddhist, it was not until after a month long meditation retreat in 2005 that I admitted to myself that I was on a buddhist path.

Freedom. Responsibility. Mutual Aid. Fighting against the state and capitalism for the survival of this earth. All of these find equal footing in both

my buddhist and anarchist paths. Indeed, I find it quite hard to separate the two. One is my path of inner work, so that I may better know how to be effective in my outer work. For the past decade or so, I have had an on and off daily sitting practice of meditation. It is my buddhist practice that feeds my strength to be able to stand up to the intense repressive structure of the state, to fight against being silenced. As an anarchist in conflict with the state, I run the constant threat of finding myself imprisoned, and when I am there it is my relation-

generally revolved around land occupations and blockades. That feeling of standing on land, and saying very firmly "this destruction stops NOW. You will NOT destroy this beautiful old growth forest. There will NOT be tar sands oil travelling through the veins of this earth..." The friendships that come along with these actions, the difficult tasks of learning how to live together, the gentle moments of space and the moments of intensity as big decisions need to be made by large groups of people quickly. I love the hard learning that comes

In many ways I feel that I live the life of a bridge, joining these two worlds together. In anarchist communities I constantly meet people who are fighting for this earth, often without much self care or self reflection.

ship to my mind that keeps me sane. The two constantly weave in and out of me in the work that I do. Every day I see the ways that we are destroying this earth, I see the trauma that the state and all forms of oppression inflict on hearts and bodies, I see destructive developments that need to be stopped. Everyday I fight the urge to bury my head in the sand, close my eyes, and pretend to forget. It is my buddhist practice that keeps me going, prevents me from deluding myself, feeds my fierceness and my ability to say NO. When I am burnt out, or jailed, or just called out intensely, it is my relationship to my heart and mind that I come back to. It is here that I am able to rejuvenate, unlearn, and find my inner strength.

In many ways I feel that I live the life of a bridge, joining these two worlds together. In anarchist communities I constantly meet people who are fighting for this earth, often without much self care or self reflection. In buddhist communities I meet many people who may spend a lot of time meditating, working for inner freedom, without much action against the forces that are destroying this earth. Questions I find myself asking are: "how do we combine our inner and outer work, so that we may be most effective in the work we do? How do we develop a relationship with our mind through sitting meditation, so that when we find ourselves in the clutches of the state we have the inner reserves and tools to be OK? How do we use the practice of sitting meditation to fuel our courage to act in the ways that this earth needs, to protect our land, air, water, to stand our ground and say NO!?"

There are a few times in my life when I have felt completely present and effective, and they have

from these moments, learning that carries years in the future. In these ways, land occupations and blockades have offered me some of the hardest, and most beautiful moments of my life. As a buddhist, I work from the belief that we, and all sentient beings, carry within us a seed of infinite wisdom and compassion. And while there are times where I doubt this, it is in these moments of rising up with others in defence of the land that I can believe it most strongly. I find myself filling up with inspiration, not because I think we succeeded in stopping the monster of industrial capitalism from destroying this earth, but because I found my NO, and joined into the chorus of revolutionary birdsong.

To end this disjointed joining of anarchism and buddhism, I will tell a story from my Grandma, who is still going at ninety seven years old. My Grandma has dedicated her life to this earth, mainly as a peace activist but also as one of the founding members of the New York teachers union. When I found myself entangled with the state, her first response was "I'll pay for your legal fees". She has introduced me and my sister as her 'anarchist grandchildren' with a huge smile on her face. Once, I asked my Grandma how she kept going, when the world seems to be getting worse every day. How she found the strength to do her work, what her inspiration was. "Well", she said, "we just have to keep the fire going."

So here is to the flame of resistance taking root in every human heart, as we fight to keep the fire going. May it one day spread into a revolutionary bush fire as we all rise up, uncover our flaming hearts of wisdom and compassion, and discover new ways of living on this earth.△

RECOMMENDED READING:

Shambhala, the Sacred Path of the Warrior
By: Chogyam Trungpa

Smile at Fear
By: Chogyam Trungpa

How Nonviolence Protects the State
By: Peter Gelderloos

Dharma in Hell: The Prison Writings of Fleet Maull
By: Fleet Maull

The Heart is Noble: Changing the World from the Inside Out
By: The Karmapa & Ogyen Trinley Dorje

What makes you not a Buddhist
By: Dzongsar Jamyang Khyentse

World as Lover, World as Self
By: Joanna Macy

Strangers Faceless Strangers
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Faceless Strangers

Exploring the economic changes to capitalism and the need to adapt our methods of resistance. by Annie Inferno

LIFE UNDER CAPITALISM IS A SERIES OF OBLIGATIONS. The American dream is a lie. We live in a system that is mutilating the planet and something is terribly wrong. The vast majority of people don't want to get up everyday and go to work, yet don't know how to stop it. From wage labor to preserving a dying civilization at all costs, the secret lies in our continued participation.

Methods of resistance have changed over the decades, the same way that capitalism has evolved since its inception. At one time, the common point of struggle was in the factory because that was where the majority of workers were located. The poor and dispossessed were centralized; there existed a common identity among people, as workers. It was an understanding of shared circumstance; solidarity was real and widespread. The factory was a natural arena for intervention, strikes, sabotage and other forms of class struggle. Union organization was preferred, as factories were comprised of hundreds of workers that constituted a formidable opposition against the factory owners.

Today, these large factories have disappeared from the North American economy. They have been downsized, offshored or replaced in favour of automatic machinery and robotics. As the traditional battleground of struggle has faded, the common mentality of worker has also ceased, rendering the leverage of the union obsolete.


Since the 80's, capitalism has restructured itself using globalization, trade agreements and decentralization; turning factories into smaller, service style industries and divided specialized jobs into assembly lines. It has created an economy built on precarious work, that is low skilled, temporary and often, unreliable. This new workplace limits the potential for intervention and resistance because it has created a disassociation from the identity inherent in those who sell their time and labor for a wage; ie. the working class. They have come to associate themselves with specialized components, "technician", "server", "stocker", "mechanic", or the

countless other jobs taken up in life. Work is work; people have forgotten that we are all exploited workers under capitalism.

Disintegration has spread beyond the factory, it has seeped into the social fabric and broken nearly every bond of human relations; turning people into automatic, passive social commodities. We have been pacified, democratized and numbed. This has benefited capital by allowing it to play a divisive, counter ploy, which pits us against others in competition.

Unions by their nature are centralized; members give up their individual autonomy to an organization that is supposed to represent their interests. Instead of relinquishing self-determination, many have opted to organize informally, with friends who share common desires, dreams and ideas. People we love and trust. By organizing on this basis of affinity, an established association with a large membership is not necessary. This is because affinity groups are able to connect, discuss and organize with others if there is a shared understanding and mutual trust available.

Alfredo M. Bonanno, a well known insurrectionary anarchist and theorist has written about the importance of affinity groups and horizontal linkages in situations of large social struggles. Within this model, groups are capable of carrying out specific coordinated actions in great numbers while remaining connected, as there exists solidarity between comrades who share affinity to the larger network. In hectic scenarios where there are a lot of people, hopefully we can also find the three or four people we came with easier.

This informal method has come into favour as the trade unions of the past have ceased to be a means to enact meaningful resistance. As state and industry collusion continue to grow, the amount of money and policing put into quelling social resistance makes the basis of affinity more relevant as an approach. 



Anarchists in Solidarity:

Preliminary Reflections on Indigenous Solidarity in Practice

ABOVE

Kahno:nhstaton in 2006, The site of a longstanding reclamation of land near the Six Nations Reserve Photo by Bryan Hill

Exploring how anarchism can inform our Indigenous solidarity work with its critique of colonialism tied to the state and capitalism. By Rachel Avery, Adam Lewis and Kalin Stacey

ANALYSIS

COMMON ONE-LINE DESCRIPTIONS OF anarchist politics state that “anarchists are against all forms of domination” and that “to be an anarchist, you need to put it into practice.” In our view, acting on this opposition to all domination means actively pursuing the goal of decolonization and the practice of settler solidarity with the colonized nations of Turtle Island. But the pathways to fulfilling this commitment are not straightforward, and this article is a brief set of observations on some of the

challenges and dynamics inherent in Indigenous solidarity work undertaken by settler anarchists. We start by recognizing that a critique of colonialism has only very recently been incorporated into anarchist theory, and that many practical attempts at solidarity have been action-oriented rather than focused on building sustained relationships. Anarchists have often boxed Indigenous struggle into pre-existing anarchist theories of resistance, without necessarily seeking to understand the different frames of reference for radicalism

in settler and Indigenous communities. In response to some of our observations about anarchist approaches, we ask how we might be more responsive to the specific context of Indigenous resistance to Canadian colonialism and movements toward settler decolonization. How can we build sustained, consistent and strong relationships of solidarity with Indigenous struggles? And how can anarchists act in solidarity without alienating potential allies through over reliance on our own norms and language?



TERMINOLOGY AND CONTEXT

Before we get too into things, we want to explain how we are understanding these terms. Indigenous solidarity has come to mean a specific form of activism that settler – or non-native – people do, to support or assist Indigenous resistance movements. We self-identify as settlers on stolen Indigenous land, which has been appropriated for the benefit of Euro-Canadian society (with unequal access primarily dominated by state and corporate interests). The word settler we use to encompass everyone who is not Indigenous to, in this case, Turtle Island, including those who are much more recent immigrants. Being a settler brings with it a set of privileges based on the exploitation and plunder of Indigenous lands. With that said, we recognize the complexity of settler identities, which may include those who arrived here under numerous circumstances, many of which themselves could have been coerced or forced. Class, race, gender, sexuality, ability, immigration status and family history all affect an

individual's experience of settler identity. The complexity of the category "settler" makes for a wide variety of considerations across and between settlers that we can't fully explore in this article. In this article we often refer simply to "anarchists" as a short-form for "settler anarchists" whose solidarity work this article examines. There are, of course, many Indigenous anarchists developing their own practices of decolonization, but which we typically don't refer to as "solidarity activists." While we think an exploration of dialogues between Indigenous and settler anarchists would be fascinating, this article aims to focus on settler anarchist attempts to act in solidarity with Indigenous communities more broadly.

Indigenous solidarity activism enacts an anti-colonial politics that recognizes the Canadian state as a fundamentally illegitimate structure that has been imposed through force and terror on this land, as well as the continuing harm done by settler society's claims to own the land and resources of Indigenous territories, and the denial

of self-determination to Indigenous peoples across the continent. Anti-colonial organizing in the territory claimed by Canada has been framed as a movement for decolonization. There are many ideas about what a decolonized Turtle Island might look like, and though it's not our place to definitively say one way or the other what the end result of decolonization might look like, we think it would generally be understood as a reinstatement of Indigenous self-determination (often also called Indigenous sovereignty). Anarchists also bring their own understandings to the concept of decolonization as it relates to settler society, often envisioning a successful movement as the resulting in the complete transformation of settler society away from capitalism and state domination.

The current context of Southern Ontarian anarchist engagement with Indigenous solidarity emerged in response primarily to resistance movements initiated by activists in Grassy Narrows, Six Nations at Kahn:nhstaton and Tyendinaga. This generation of

anarchists also developed out of current tensions within the anarchist movement that began to move away from more rigidly defined class war politics towards a more open, intersectional, and perhaps inclusive understanding of anarchism. This fluidity of anarchist politics, combined with watershed moments of Indigenous resistance, blossomed into sustained solidarity organizing and calls for continued relationship-building and engagement. This emergence, while certainly drawing from previous moments such as the defence of Kanehsatake in 1990 or even further back to solidarity with the American Indian Movement, brought settler solidarity with Indigenous struggles into contact with these anarchist movements. Anti-colonial consciousness was combined with grassroots, consensus-based, non-hierarchical organizing that prioritized a rejection of the state and capitalism with an intersectional understanding of colonialism. This synthesis was developed through struggles against the Vancouver 2010 Olympics as well as the Toronto G20 Summit. Groups such as No One Is Illegal, the Olympic Resistance Network, and AW@L, while not necessarily explicitly anarchist, were heavily influenced by anarchists, and foregrounded resistance against colonialism and solidarity with Indigenous struggles. The anti-Olympics campaign explicitly organized around the slogan “No Olympics on Stolen Native Land” and worked closely with Indigenous communities in unceded BC to resist the Olympics across the country. This campaign also brought many organizers together who continue to work in support of Indigenous struggles, while being strongly influenced by anarchist politics. The G20 continued to develop these relationships within the Southern Ontario region and sought to tie anti-colonialism and anti-capitalism together explicitly within the organized days of resistance. Our experiences within these groups and movements has continued to influence our thinking and practice here in Southern Ontario as we work to further understand the relationship between anarchism and anti-colonialism.

Anti-Colonial Anarchism: Moving Towards A Better Practice of Solidarity

The following are a series of observations that we offer towards the goal of improving anarchist anti-colonial, and decolonizing practice:

ANARCHISTS WITHOUT ADJECTIVES

Anarchism, which grew from a euro-centric context, has generally failed to assess colonialism on this continent, and as such continues to leave out a necessary part of its intersectional analysis. Anarchism has continued to expand the scope of its analysis to many forms of oppression, and coupled analysis with a spirit of resistance, but often within a rigid framework of ideological principles that has at times occurred at the expense of effective organizing beyond anarchist circles. Rather than declaring theoretical opposition to colonialism alongside the ever growing list of other oppressions, anarchism needs to begin to critically seek out strategies for decolonization within itself. Part of this work requires a breaking away from rigid forms of anarchist sectarianism and ideological definition.

One of the things that we have observed is that those anarchists doing anti-colonial solidarity and decolonization work tend to be those who have much more open or general views about anarchism. These folks often fall under what some have called the ‘anarchism without adjectives’ label and tend to shy away from the specific tendencies of anarchism, such as calling themselves anarcho-communists, insurrectionary anarchists or green anarchists. This is perhaps a more general anarchism, but its ideological flexibility lends it to being potentially more useful in the practice of solidarity. This doesn’t mean that we think all anarchists should give up the ways that they each self-identify, but anarchists should think carefully about how they project their self-identification and what that might mean for relationship building.

ANARCHIST RHETORIC AS AN OBSTACLE TO RELATIONSHIP-BUILDING

The openness and flexibility of this approach to anarchism is particularly important for those seeking to be allies with Indigenous communities. It often doesn’t make sense to wander into a community waving the black flag and talking about ‘the class war’; these images and practices do not typically resonate with Indigenous resistance. Anarchists, as settlers, and often as white people, are likely to be experienced as an unwelcome incursion in many Indigenous communities, encroaching upon some of the only spaces that are still predominantly Indigenous, and seen as people portrayed in the media as “dangerous terrorists.” This is not to say that anarchist framings aren’t applicable at some level, but rhetoric can be an obstacle to the way that new relationships are going to be made between settlers and Indigenous peoples. Relationships of solidarity have in part been undertaken at much more personal, rather than ideological, levels, based on common goals and friendship and not cast under an imposed western ideology. In this sense, an anarchism that operates in the background, not as the first point of contact, has been more effective at cultivating relationships than sticking to ideological anarchist commitments right from the start.

DESCRIBING THE ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OF ANARCHIST INDIGENOUS SOLIDARITY

The above ‘anarchism without adjectives’ approach also lends itself to more flexible and dynamic forms of organization. Anarchists doing this type of work tend to operate within non-anarchist groups, or at least groups which don’t explicitly advertise themselves as anarchist. The tendency, rather, has been to foreground solidarity organizing and orient groups around a discourse of decolonization, although many in the group may be anarchists and the group may internally commit to anarchist forms of organization such as horizontality, consensus-based decision-making, and broad anti-oppression politics. This

pragmatic way of organizing allows for greater alliance building and solidarity with groups that in many cases do not share anarchist politics. This is not to say that anarchists should seek to support just any faction of a given community, or “the whole community” (which is not possible). It is definitely important to recognize shared goals and strategic approaches, but with more flexibility and under a broader umbrella than allowed for by the tactical rigidity we feel anarchists sometimes push onto others.

TRANSCIENCE IN ANARCHIST COMMUNITIES

Transience is another prevalent dynamic in anarchist communities which has the ability to impact on the longevity or quality of solidarity relationships. This transience can be characterized as either geographic, temporal, or strategic. By geographic transience we mean that anarchists — and really settlers in general — tend to move around a lot and stay unrooted from any specific place-based community. But North American anarchist communities are also notorious for the lack of retention beyond the clichéd twenty something demographic, with a high turnover for organizers who burn out, become disillusioned, or otherwise leave the movement for a variety of factors we don’t have the space to fully explore. Anarchist projects can also be thought of as “strategically transient” insofar as they are often based on short-term visions, and temporary groupings, rather than resting on a foundation of multi-generational awareness and long-term strategic planning. The efficacy of transience within anarchist scenes may be considered more broadly, but is beyond the scope of this discussion, and at present is something that must be accounted for and worked with productively. If anarchists and their projects are indeed transient, this presents a major challenge in the development and maintenance of solid, trusting, and long-term relationships and a committed and stable presence in support of Indigenous communities.

Working within our own communities, and particularly being effective and responsible allies, arguably requires establishing a stable, sustained presence. In spite of the impermanence and fluidity

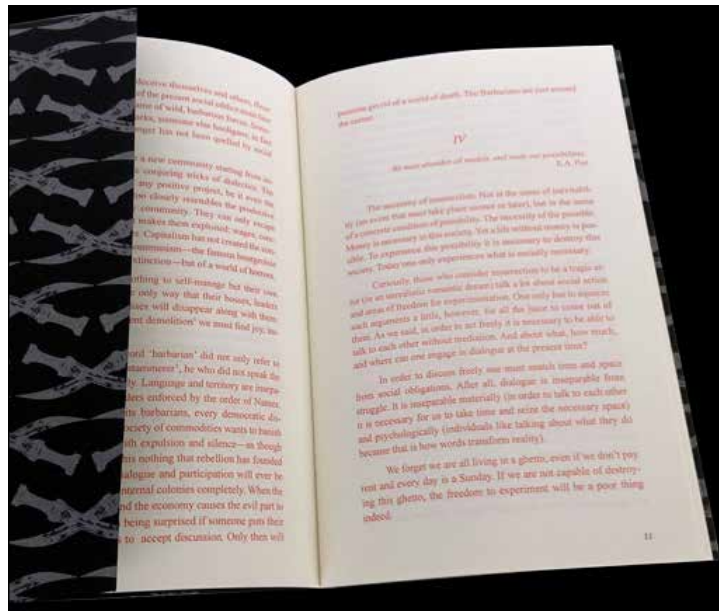
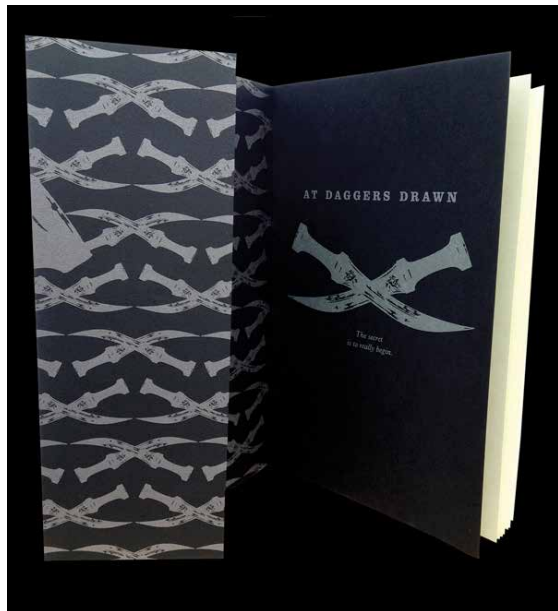
found in many anarchist groups and scenes, we must still recognize that our responsibilities to Indigenous communities and to the land we live on extend beyond the brief time we may spend in one place, and indeed extend across generations. In light of this perspective, we can consider how to incorporate this longevity of vision into our structures and act on our responsibility. Creating structures that can extend beyond the presence of any individual is one way to deal with this. This is fairly uncommon in explicitly anarchist organising here, aside from primarily platformist groups, but offers a structure to deal with the movement and involvement patterns of individuals. Through the existence of groups that are more formal and long-term, we can create spaces through which relationships of solidarity and friendship can develop, connections can be made between both individuals and groups, and the persistence of institutional memory can facilitate the development of projects over a longer period and minimize the amount of time and effort we spend re-inventing the wheel. This can be beneficial to the practice of solidarity, as we can build a stronger, more permanent base for this work.

If we aim to work in solidarity with Indigenous communities, we need to be reliable and useful; this means establishing a pattern of being there when and where it’s needed (without overstepping), and developing relationships of trust. But as individuals come and go, we are often creating situations where those in Indigenous communities we seek to ally with are forced to constantly form new relationships with settler activists, starting anew to establish trust. This is an unnecessary waste of their time and energy. Certainly, these relationships are essential, but organizational ties can be maintained even if personal relationships may exist in a greater state of flux. It is incumbent upon us to figure out how to establish relationships responsibly and facilitate longer-term projects and visions. One way to address this is to recognize that individuals who are rooted in one place might be able to anchor relationships between their community and Indigenous allies. Another way forward might be to establish

relationships between communities or formal groups in addition to individual relationships. Without becoming a faceless organization (which cannot establish real relationships, as those are held between individuals), we can still balance institutional persistence and personal connections, so that when key actors depart, the work can continue and others are already on their way to acting upon the relationships they too have been building. Solidarity working groups and collectives dedicated to anti-colonial work offer potential models for this approach. Structured groups also provide pathways in for new members; those who are inspired to work towards decolonization but are not part of a group or scene to draw on others to work with have at least a local point of contact, if not a role within an established group.

In this article, we have sought to present a number of our thoughts, observations and questions with regard to anarchism, anti-colonialism, and Indigenous solidarity work in Southern Ontario and offer what might be some of the more effective ways forward. We offer these observations not as anything that is definitive or all encompassing, but as points for consideration as we work to improve our theory and practice. Anarchism has the potential to articulate and forward a unique and useful analysis of colonialism as tied to the state and capitalism, though it largely has overlooked this central aspect of settler society. Anarchists have the opportunity, but also the responsibility, of making our theory and practice more comprehensive and more attentive to the colonial context in which we struggle. Indigenous solidarity work, as a discrete radical project, can draw from anarchist methods to enact alternatives to dominant forms of organization that often characterize settler groups. We need to consider the most effective means of initiating relationships with potential allies in Indigenous communities, of representing our politics, and of organizing our solidarity efforts. There are multiple ways forward, and more questions than answers, but we hope to have offered some possibilities for what we think might be some of the more productive ways to do this work. △

REVIEWS



At Daggers Drawn: With the Existent, its Defenders and its False Critics

By Anonymous (Elephant Editions)

Review by Ali Parker

WRITTEN ANONYMOUSLY AND TRANSLATED by Jean Weir of *Elephant Editions*, this piece is thought provoking, inspiring, and written in a very eloquent prose. I found these pages to nurture the idea that social revolt and insurrection create possibilities for conceiving new ways of living.

This piece speaks to the structure of society as one that strangles experimentation and creativity. Our lives are focused on jobs – money and obligations that have taken over our waking life – thereby limiting spontaneous actions and fundamentally changing the way we interact with each other and the earth/our landbase. Society has suppressed the ability for us to even imagine a world without capitalism.

Exploring the potential of life, without the power structures that hold us, requires space for play and the freedom to foster dialogue and action. Authentic discourse is mentioned as uniting both the content of discussion and the method

of realizing the premise. To join theory with action can mean that creating spaces through attack bring an idea to life.

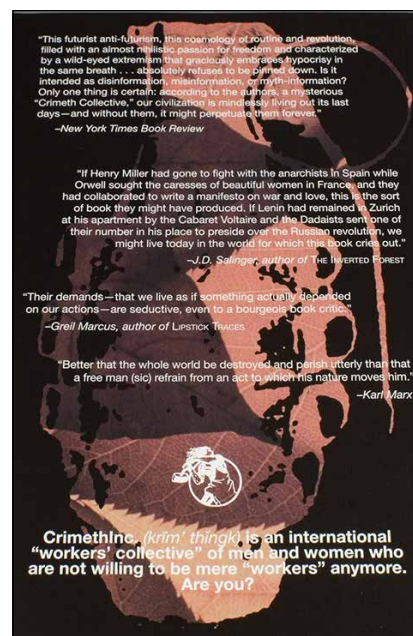
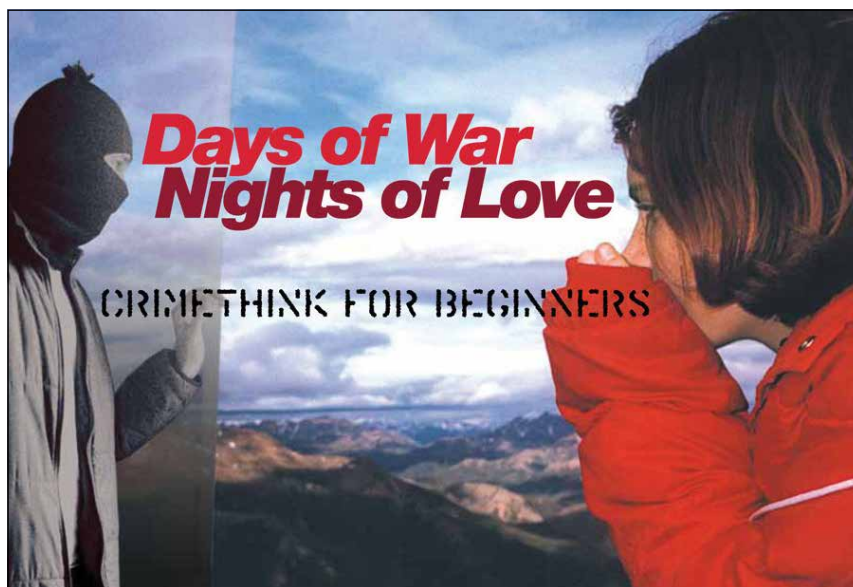
The belief that there is so much more to life than money, bolstered by the refusal to remain passive observers, allows us to realize our collective power and re-establish autonomy over our lives. Capitalism is built on exploitation and domination; these elements are fundamental to the economy. Trying to implement reforms within capitalism is a waste of time because the inherent nature of the system will never change. The only way to change the condition of exploitation is to destroy the elements that create it.

Insurrection is the complete rejection of society in favor of a new way of relating. To attack without delay, to upset the social order and paralyze the economy. It contains the pleasure of living, the desertion of social roles, and the destruction of production and distribution. By creating this valuable space for reflection, we begin a process of unlearning reinforced social norms, unlocking the

prisons in our minds while simultaneously disrupting the monotony of daily life. The spirit of revolt is nourished along with the understanding that, while individual actions end agitation persists.

Revolutionary strength is not measured in military capabilities, but by our resolve, inner strength, uncompromising values, and social bonds. Informal methods of resistance are mentioned in this piece as a realization of one's goals. They abandon the idea of a central group in favour of horizontal linkages of people who share affinity, trust, and common ideals.

While it would be nice to know a little more about the person who wrote *At Daggers Drawn*, the anonymity speaks to me because these ideas don't come from one person. Rather, they stream through all of us and can be realized when we reject the current, stagnant discourse of politics and its tokenizing façade of choice. I would recommend this zine to the dreamer who refuses to compromise with capital. △



Days of War Nights of Love: Crimethink for Beginners By Crimethinc. (Crimethinc. 2000)

Review by e.war

RELEASED IN 2000, AS ONE OF Crimethinc's first published books *Days of War Nights of Love* began Crimethinc's polished slick design, delivering its messages with a high contrast, organic, cut and paste style.

The chapters are organized in a fashion that don't have to be read in sequential order to make sense, making it an attractive book to the non-reader. Topics are arranged alphabetically which places contrasting themes in the same chapter.

Days of War Nights of Love was a book that I found on a merch table at a hardcore show. I don't remember how much I paid for it or what convinced me that I should buy it. After the last band had played as I left the hall, even before

the sweat on my skin had dried I knew I had a treasure.

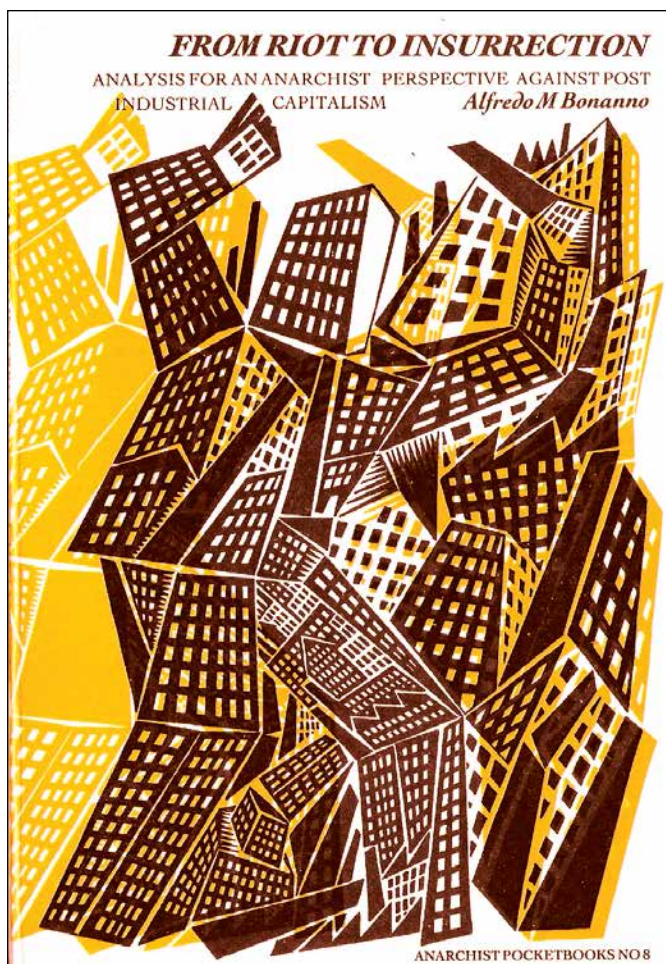
Flipping through the pages of my new book I found the validation and expansion of the ideas that were already bubbling in my mind. From shoplifting to dumpster diving, Crimethinc. explained anarchist perspectives on work, gender, and domestication (and so much more). Telling us that our uncompromising and unquenchable desire for freedom is the fuel for the revolution. And I ate that shit up; driving me from the comfort of aloof nihilism to an outspoken advocate for social criticism.

Days of War Nights of Love does have its problems and shouldn't be read as the gospel. Although the book presents

some radical ideas and critiques of today's mass culture it can quickly become a dangerous self affirming lifestyle package for the disenfranchised. Crimethinc.'s writings have been critiqued for being written for the ignorant middle class, but there's more to these pages then just a manifesto for the bored suburban hooligan.

In the interest of accessibility Crimethinc has made all of the chapters of this book available online as a PDF form free of charge. Also an anarchist collective, *audio anarchy*, has recorded an audio version, found with other interesting anarchist audio texts for free download on their website. [Δ](#)

www.daysofwarnightsoflove.com
www.audioanarchy.org



"It's easy. You can do it by yourself, or with a bunch of trusted comrades. You don't need to have great means or technical competence. The capital is vulnerable, if you are determined to act."

-Alfredo M. Bonanno, *Armed Joy*

From Riots to Insurrection: Analysis for an Anarchist Perspective Against Post-industrial Capitalism

By Alfredo M. Bonanno (Elephant Editions 1988)

Review by Bryan Hill

AT THE END OF THE 70S, ALL THE WORLD'S heretics were predicting capitalism's imminent demise, as a variety of economic forces and physical limits on production threatened to undermine capitalism's explicit goal of rising profits and economic expansion. Yet here we are today, continuing to struggle against the same economic system that breeds our misery and exploitation. The reason these prophecies of collapse never came to fruition is because capitalism learned to adapt.

This is the point of discussion and departure for Alfredo M. Bonanno's classic text, *From Riots to Insurrection*, published in the wake of this historic restructuring. Termed 'post-industrial capitalism', Bonanno tells the story of how capital saved itself from the brink of collapse with the help of new

technological innovations and by separating the majority of the oppressed peoples from skilled labour in production.

Starting from this separation, we have seen a variety of social catastrophes and the loss of work-related organization and resistance, rendering malleable, precarious individuals once known as the working class. Furthermore, Bonanno argues we have lost a popular language of revolt, as the meaning and context of industrial workers' struggle have become mostly irrelevant within this new context. From here on in, it is best to abandon old leftist theories of unionism and syndicalism in favour of new strategies.

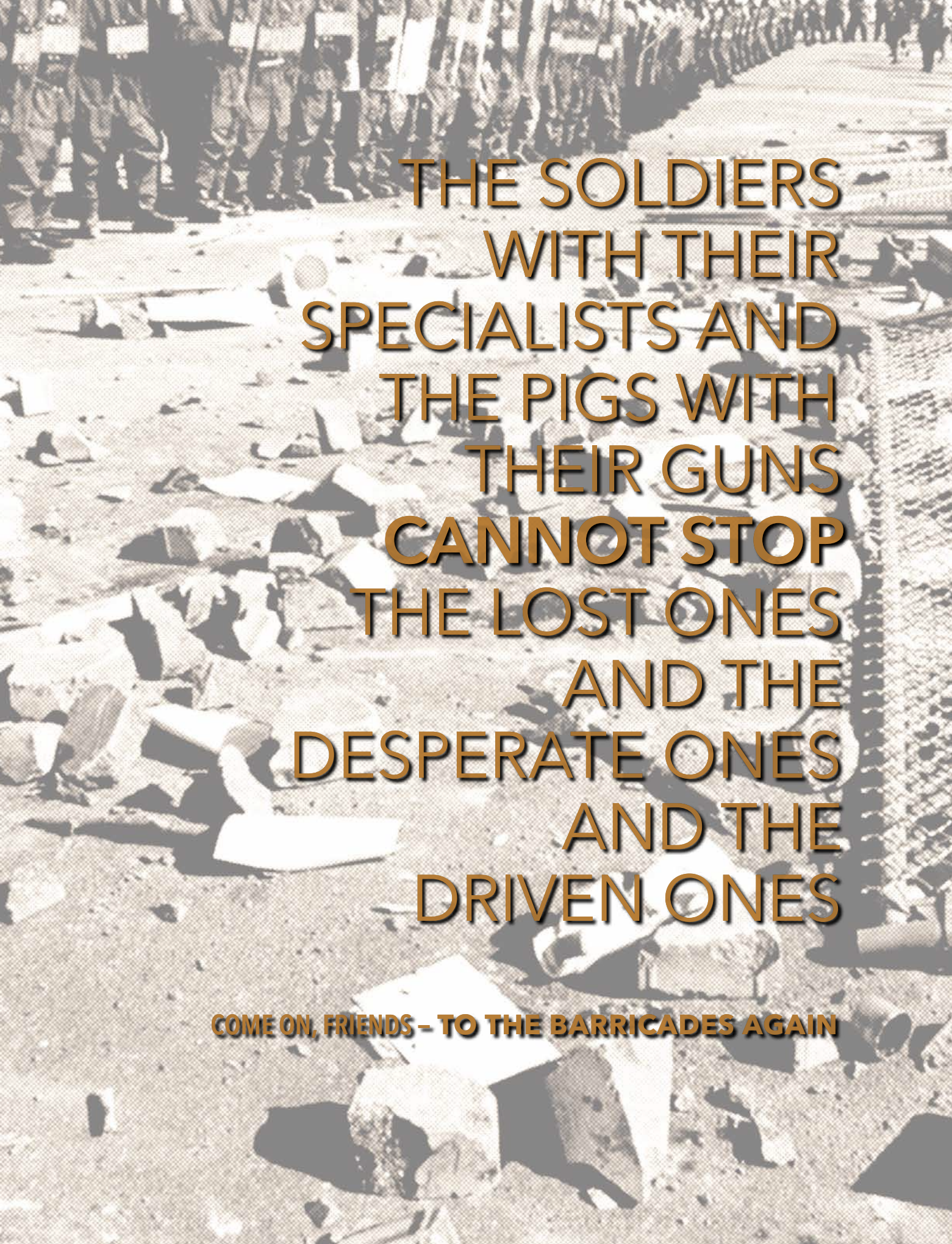
From this perspective, Bonanno argues how the "spontaneous" riots that seem to spring forth from nowhere – the likes of which we have seen recently with the Tottenham riots in London and the

Canucks Hockey riots in Vancouver – are in fact a collective response to the violent oppression felt by so many under capitalism.

Published as both an essay and transcription of a talk Bonanno gave on the subject, this text is still relevant to today's insurgents, finding their footing in a modern society marked by riots which demand nothing and take everything. We have lost our language of revolt and are left with the task of finding a new form of informal organization which can help us further our attacks on capitalism and transform these moments of revolt into full-blown insurrection. Δ

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THE SOLDIERS
WITH THEIR
SPECIALISTS AND
THE PIGS WITH
THEIR GUNS
CANNOT STOP
THE LOST ONES
AND THE
DESPERATE ONES
AND THE
DRIVEN ONES

COME ON, FRIENDS - TO THE BARRICADES AGAIN

// Anarchism has but one
infallible, unchangeable
motto, *Freedom*.
Freedom to discover any
truth, freedom to
develop, to live naturally
and fully."

-Lucy González Parsons

Described by the Chicago Police Department as
"*More dangerous than a thousand rioters...*"

